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DESIDERATA CURIOSA HIBERNICA:

OR,

A Select Collection of

STATE PAPERS.

DESIDERATA CURIOSA HIBERNICA:

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A Select Collection of

STATE PAPERS;

CONSISTING OF

ROYAL INSTRUCTIONS, DIRECTIONS, DISPATCHES, and LETTERS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

Some HISTORICAL TRACTS.

The Whole illustrating and opening the Political Systems of the CHIEF GOVERNORS and GOVERNMENT of IRELAND, during the Reigns of Queen ELIZABETH, JAMES the First, and CHARLES the First.

VOL. II.

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OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

In-

The

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

INSTRUCTIONS

For the lord preſident and council of Munſter, 20 May, 1615.

ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

WHEREAS the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by his letters of the 17th day of March laſt paſt, hath made choice of his right truſty and right well-beloved couſin and counſellor the earl of Thomond, to be lord preſident of Munſter, and hath likewiſe been pleaſed to aſſign unto him a privy council there to accompany him, to the end, that by his and their continual reſidence there, the reformed and civil ſort of ſubjects may be cheriſhed and defended, the ignorant and diſobedient inſtructed, and brought to

embrace knowledge and civility, and all alike to receive juſtice at their hands, by good government and right adminiſtration of the laws of this realm; and hath likewiſe, by his ſaid gracious letters to us directed, requiring him to be admitted preſident of that council of Munſter; we, the lord deputy and council, have thought good to ſet down and deliver to the ſaid lord preſident and council of that province theſe inſtructions and directions enſuing, to be obſerved and executed by the ſaid lord preſident, and to be dutifully obeyed by all the ſaid council, and other the inhabitants of that province. To the intent, therefore, that the ſaid lord preſident may accordingly be aſſiſted with ſuch numbers of counſellors, and of ſuch fidelity, experience, and wiſdom, as is convenient and meet; we have with like deliberation, and do hereby declare, that we do ſelect the perſons whoſe names are underwritten, to be of the privy council of Munſter, for aſſiſtance of the ſaid preſident.

First, all ſuch as are ſworn of his majeſty's privy council of this ſtate, who are to ſit and adviſe with the ſaid lord preſident, when and as often as they ſhall have occaſion to repair into the province, *viz.*

Donagh earl of Thomond.
The lord chancellor of Ireland.
Chriſtopher lord primate of Armagh.
Richard earl of Clanrickard.
George lord biſhop of Meath.
—— lord biſhop of Raphoe.

Sir

Sir Thomas Ridgway, baronet, vice treasurer and treasurer at wars.
Sir Richard Wingfield, knight marshall.
Sir John Denham, knight, lord chief justice of the chief place.
Sir Dominick Sarsfield, knight, lord chief justice of the common pleas.
Sir William Methwald, knight, lord chief baron of the exchequer.
Sir Francis Aungier, knight, master of the rolls.
Sir Toby Caulfield, knight, master of the ordnance.
Sir Edward Brabazon, knight.
Sir Arthur Sanadge, knight.
Sir Oliver Lambert, knight.
Sir Henry Power, knight.
Sir Francis Rushe, knight.
Sir Francis Barclay, knight.
Sir Robert Digby, knight.
Sir Richard Morrison, knight.
Sir Charles Wilmott, knight.
Sir Foulke Conway, knight.
Sir Garrett Moore, knight.
Sir Oliver St. John, knight.
Sir Edward Blaney, knight.
Sir Richard Boyle, knight.
Sir Richard Cooke, knight, principal secretary.
Sir John Jepson, knight.
Sir Hugh Montgomery, knight.
Sir Adam Loftus, knight.

Sir John King, knight, muſter maſter general.
Sir James Hamilton, knight.

THE above written are of his majeſty's privy council of the kingdom; theſe that follow are aſſigned to be of the council of the province beſides.

David lord Barry, viſcount Buttevant.
William lord biſhop of Corke.
Barnard lord biſhop of Limerick.
John lord biſhop of Waterford.
Henry lord Brian, lord baron of Ibrackan.
George lord Audley.
Edward Harris chief juſtice of Munſter.
John Beere his majeſty's ſerjeant at law.
Sir John Davis, knight, his majeſty's attorney general.
Sir Robert Jacob, knight, his majeſty's ſollicitor general.
Sir Thomas Standiſh, knight.
Sir Thomas Roper, knight.
Sir Francis Kingſmill, knight.
Sir Parre Lane, knight.
Sir Francis Slingſby, knight.
Sir William Davers, knight.
Sir Thomas Browne, knight.
Sir Richard Aldworth, knight.
Henry Goſnold, ſecond juſtice of Munſter.
Captain Henry Skipwithe.

Firſt,

First, the said lord president shall call to him the chief justice of that province, and such other of the fore-named commissioners and counsel as he shall think meet, and shall minister to such of them as shall not already have been sworn, the oath hereafter following, *viz.*

First, the oath of supremacy, then the oath of a counsellor, in the words following:

"YOU shall swear to the uttermost of your power, will and cunning, you shall be true and faithful to the king's highness our sovereign lord, and to his heirs and successors, and his council conceal and keep. You shall not know or hear any thing that may any ways be prejudicial to his highness or to the commonwealth, peace and quiet of this his highness's realm; but you shall with all diligence reveal and disclose the same to his highness's deputy or chief governor of the realm for the time being, or to such other person or persons of his majesty's privy council of Ireland, as you shall think may and will soonest convey and bring it to his knowledge. You shall serve his majesty truly and faithfully in the room and place of his highness's council. You shall in all things that be moved, treated, and deliberated in any council, faithfully and truly declare your mind and your opinion according to your heart and conscience; and in no wise forbear so to do for any manner of respect, favour, need, dread, displeasure, or corruption. You shall faithfully and uprightly, to the best of

your power, cause justice to be duly and indifferently ministered to the king's majesty's subjects, that shall have cause to use the same according to the equity and order of law. Finally, you shall be vigilant, diligent, and circumspect, in all your doings and proceedings touching the king's majesty and his affairs. All which points and articles before expressed, you shall faithfully perform to the uttermost of your power, wit, will, and cunning. So help you God in Christ Jesus".

The like oath to be given to every such person as hereafter shall be appointed to be of that council (if he be not of the privy council) who was formerly sworn. And it shall be lawful for the said lord president, to call and assemble all the foresaid persons so sworn, or shall be sworn of the said council, or as many of them as he shall please, when and as often as he shall think fit; and to what place or places he shall appoint them, there to reside and attend him so long as he shall think convenient, to confer and consult in things necessary for the government, and for the furtherance of his majesty's service. The lord deputy and council do, in his majesty's name, charge and command all those his majesty's said counsellors there, that as well in the time of all their conferences and treaties as aforesaid, as at all other times, and in all places, they exhibit and shew unto the lord president, all such honour, reverence, and obedience, as shall

ſhall and doth in duty appertain to a principal and chief preſident of council, and ſhall in like ſort receive and execute all thoſe his directions and commandments neceſſary, concerning and importing his majeſty's ſervice. And for the better countenance and maintenance of the ſaid authority, the ſaid lord deputy and council do command, that the chief juſtice and ſecond juſtice ſhall be reſident to aſſiſt the ſaid preſident upon all occaſions; and that the clerk of the council there ſhall give continual attendance upon the ſaid lord preſident and council, and not to depart without the ſpecial licence of the ſaid preſident. And the ſaid chief juſtice is to have for his ſtipend yearly, one hundred pounds ſterling; and the ſecond juſtice or aſſiſtant, one hundred marks ſterling: all which wages and ſtipends ſhall be paid quarterly, by the hand of the treaſurer of this realm. And the ſaid lord deputy and council have thought meet, that there ſhall be a convenient houſe kept within the precinct and limit of the commiſſion aforeſaid, in ſuch place as to the lord preſident ſhall ſeem good: all ſervants, neceſſary for which houſhold, ſhall be at the nomination of the ſaid lord preſident; and the ſaid chief juſtice ſhall be allowed herein to have three ſervants, the ſecond juſtice to have two ſervants, the attorney one ſervant, and the clerk of the council one ſervant; and every counſellor either ſent for, or coming for any needful buſineſs for the king or country, ſhall be allowed one ſervant during his abode there.

It is further agreed by the lord deputy and council, that there shall be six clerks besides the chief clerk, and those to be termed and called by the name of attornies of the court; some out of those to be appointed as attorney or solicitor to the king's majesty, and preferring of all informations and complaints in causes criminal, to be prosecuted on his majesty's behalf. That it be also parcel of his office and charge to examine all persons accused or suspected to have committed any felonies, offences, and such treasons as shall be committed to his examination. These clerks to draw the petitions and bills of all the complaints, endorsing upon the back of the bills, to be seen to the lord president and council, the substance and contents thereof also. And the same clerks also, such as made not bills, to make answers for the parties defaults, and further pleading to bring the cause to issue, if need so require: and in small causes, for ease of the poorer sort, the best course to determine them is (if it may be) upon bill and answer, so to examine the causes in presence of the parties, as either by order there, or by commission to some friends, by consent of parties, the cause may take an end. And forasmuch as it is convenient that as well all inferior officers and attendants for service, council, or practice in that court, or other superiors, may be obedient to the laws of the realm, concerning the service of God, and the profession of the true christian religion, established in the realm; the lord president shall take

take order, that no person, bearing or exercising any office there, or pleading, soliciting, or intermedling with any suits belonging to that court, shall continue in office, or exercise there, except they shall willingly take such oath, as is before appointed; and shall also orderly resort to the church and divine service, and receive the communion according to the laws of the realm, and the injunctions ecclesiastical; and if any shall assent thereunto, and perform the same here, after reasonable time given to conform themselves, they shall be secluded from any manner of exercise of any service, either by themselves, or by their deputies, and some other meet and conformable person shall be admitted by the lord president, for the time being, and council in their place, until the persons offending shall reform themselves; and the like orders to be taken for the deputies of any officers, for declaration of their obedience, as above is mentioned. The said chief clerks fees to be set down in a table, as follow, viz.

Imprimis. For making of the bill	xii d.
The attornies fees	iii s. iv d.
For copies, for every 14 lines	vi d.
Entries of appearances	iv d.
Entries for order	vi d.
Entries for affidavit	iv d.
The marshalls fees	
Fees for process under the signet, and such other like	ii s.

Except

Except ſuch perſons as the preſident ſhall allow in *forma pauperis.*

Item. For further reputation and honour of the ſame office, the ſaid lord preſident ſhall have ſome one diſcreet and comely perſonage, which ſhall continually attend him as ſerjeant at arms, and ſhall bear before him the mace of the king's majeſty's arms, in ſuch manner as the ſerjeant at arms doth bear the mace before the preſident in Wales; which ſerjeant may at all times be ſent by the ſaid lord preſident and council for the apprehending or bringing in of any diſobedient and contemptuous perſon, receiving of every ſuch perſon, being of the degree of a gentleman, ſo commonly known, and having yearly livelihood by any means of ten pounds, for his arreſting, ten ſhillings, and for the arreſt of any other perſon, ſix ſhillings and eight pence, for every days travel, and not above: he ſhall alſo have his diet in the houſhold of the ſaid lord preſident, and towards his maintenance, the ordinary wages of one of the horſemen.

And foraſmuch as there muſt be of neceſſity an officer to whom all offenders and malefactors are to be committed, during the time of their impriſonment; it is thought meet, that the ſaid lord preſident ſhall appoint one porter, to have the charge of the gaol, who ſhall have his diet in the houſhold of the lord preſident, and to be accounted as one of the footmen, and to receive the wages due for the ſame; and alſo ſuch other profit

profit upon every prisoner, as ensueth, so to him committed, viz. for the entry of every prisoner, having livelihood of ten pounds by the year, three shillings and four pence, and sixteen pence a day for his diet, during his abode in prison; and for every other person of inferior condition, two shillings for his entry, and nine pence a day for his diet. And the said lord deputy and council have thought good, that there be a signet graven, with the king's arms under a crown imperial, which always shall remain in the clerk of the council's custody, who shall seal with the same all process which shall be sent from the lord president and council; in the upper margent of every which process shall be written by the lord president and council of Munster. And for the avoiding of corruption and abuse in the taking of oaths and affidavits in that court, his majesty's pleasure is, that all oaths made for or upon any cause or matter depending, or to be depending in that court, shall be ministered by the lord president, or by the chief or second justice of the said province, or by the clerk of the council, or his sufficient deputy or deputies; in such sort as is used by the masters of his majesty's high court of chancery, and not by any other. It is ordered by the lord deputy and council, that if any persons complain to the said lord president and council, and that they shall think their complaint worthy the hearing, that the persons so complained upon shall be sent for by a letter missive under the king's signet, to

appear

appear before the lord president and council, at a day and place by them to be appointed, there to answer such things as shall be laid to their charges; and for default of appearance upon any such letter or warrant, and oath thereof made, then shall be sent forth the letters of contempt and attachment; the serjeant at arms is to be sent for him, by you the said lord president; and if he or they shall shun the serjeant at arms, likewise then the said lord president and council, or any two or more of them (whereof the lord president to be one) shall as well proceed to other process, by way of proclamation of allegiance, and by commission of rebellion, as in like cases is used in the high court of chancery, to be directed to any sheriff or other officer within the said province; as also to the hearing and determining of the matter or cause in variance, according to the laws, statutes, and ordinances made therein, or otherwise as they shall think fit; and also punish the parties so contemning, by imprisonment and reasonable fine, or otherwise proceed against him, according to their discretions.

Also the said lord president shall have and retain one sufficient learned chaplain and minister, for the service of God, who shall be allowed his diet in the houshold of the said lord president, unto whom he shall cause due reverence to be given in respect of his office; and that he shall have for his service and attendance, the fee of forty pounds English yearly, out of

the

the fines and casualties of the province, and thereof to have payment first, and before any other payable in that kind.

And whereas heretofore there have been divers and sundry practices and conspiracies within that province, by traitors and wicked persons, who have opposed themselves in actual hostility and rebellion, to withstand his majesty's princely and imperial government by justice; the lord deputy and council do, in his highness's name, charge and command the said lord president and council to be vigilant and careful, timely to discover and prevent all such practices and conspiracies, and rebellions, before they grow to a head; and when and as soon as they shall come by the understanding of any such thereof, immediately to give the lord deputy and council advertisement. And if any person or persons be now upon their keeping, and refuse to submit themselves to justice, or shall at any time hereafter enter into any open and actual rebellion; and that it shall be needful they be speedily encountered and suppressed, and that in the considerations of the said lord president and council, great inconvenience to his majesty's service might happen, and fall out by delay, or in expectance of further directions from the lord deputy and council, it is condescended and agreed by the said lord deputy and council, that it shall be lawful for the said lord president and council, or any three or more of them (whereof the lord president to be one) to prosecute and suppress any such rebel or

rebels

rebels with fire and ſword; and for doing thereof, to levy in warlike manner and array, and with the ſame to march ſuch and ſo many of his highneſs's forces and ſubjects, as to their diſcretion ſhall ſeem convenient. And if that any fort, caſtle, pile, or houſe, be with force kept againſt them, it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid lord preſident and council, or three or more of them (whereof the lord preſident to be one) to bring before any ſuch caſtle, fort, pile, or houſe, to be kept againſt them, any of the king's majeſty's ordnance or great artillery, and any other inſtrument of war meet for ſuch a purpoſe, which do now, or hereafter ſhall remain within his ſaid preſidency or command, and with the ſame batter, ruin, and overthrow, as to their diſcretion ſhall ſeem beſt, ſtraightly charging and commanding all archbiſhops, earls, biſhops, viſcounts, barons, baronets, knights, mayors, ſheriffs, juſtices, and miniſters of the peace; and all gentlemen as well within liberties as without, and commons (being his majeſty's ſubjects) to help and aſſiſt the ſaid lord preſident and council, or any three or more of them, whereof the lord preſident to be one, as they ſhall be commanded, upon ſuch pain, as for the nature of and quality of the default ſhall be thought meet to the ſaid lord preſident and council to limit, aſſeſs, and inflict upon them.

Whereas alſo, the lord preſident hath full power and authority by letters patents under the great ſeal of this realm, to execute the martial-

law

law when neceſſity ſhall require, in as large and ample manner, as to any other hath been accuſtomed to be granted within this realm of Ireland. The ſaid lord preſident ſhall have good regard thereto, that no uſe be made of the martial law, but where neceſſity ſhall require; for the execution thereof is only intended where other ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice by law cannot for the preſent have place; foreſeeing always, that no perſon having forty ſhillings of freehold, or goods of the value of ten pounds, ſhall not be tried by the order of the martial-law, but that ſuch be left to be tried, as by the common-law is provided. And yet if the importance of the ſervice do neceſſarily require ſuch expedition, and that it ſhall appear to be available for the preſervation of the peace, and of his majeſty's good ſubjects, the ſaid lord preſident may execute the martial-law upon any perſon or perſons, though of greater value of lands or goods than is above expreſſed, which in ſuch ſpecial caſes is left to his diſcretion, whereof, and of the cauſe that moved him thereunto, he ſhall make the lord deputy acquainted with what expedition he may. And for the reducing of the inhabitants of the ſaid province to civil orders, the ſaid lord deputy and council think it requiſite, that proclamation be made in the name of the lord preſident and council, throughout the province of Munſter aforeſaid, letting all perſons, to wit, that as his majeſty hath eſtabliſhed and ſet the ſaid lord

preſident

president and council there, to see all loving subjects defended by justice, from the preying, spoiling, oppressing, and exactions which heretofore have been often subject unto, to charge and command all and every person so preyed, spoiled, oppressed, exacted, and otherwise wronged, that they and every of them for the same shall exhibit their complaint to the said lord president and council, where the party offending shall be speedily called to answer and satisfy the party wronged; and therefore, all and every his majesty's subjects, are hereby forbidden, under pain, to be reputed and taken as felons, that being preyed, robbed, or spoiled, they presume not to seek their revenge by their accustomed Brehone laws, or restitution of their goods by arbitrary means, other than by complaint as aforesaid, to the lord president and council, or before the judge of assizes in their circuits, or justices of the peace in their quarter sessions, or as by his majesty's laws is appointed. Also the said lord president and council shall cause as much as in them lieth, that all writs or process sent, or to be sent in his majesty's behalf, to any person or persons inhabiting, or being within the precinct of their commission, out of the chancery, king's-bench, common-pleas, or exchequer, or any other court of records, diligently to be observed, and effectually to be obeyed, according to the tenor of the same; and if they shall find negligence, slackness, or wilful omission in any officer or other minister, to whom the delivery or serving of such process

doth

doth appertain, they shall punish the same severely, according to the quality of the offence. And it shall be lawful for the said lord president and council, or any two or more of them, (whereof the lord president to be one) after examination in the causes necessary, upon vehement suspicion and presumption of any great offence by any party committed against the king, or to the general disturbance of that province, to put the same party so suspected to tortures, as they shall think convenient, and cause shall require; and also to respite judgment of death upon any person convicted or attainted before him; and the commissioners of gaol delivery for any treason, murther, or felony, or after judgment given, to stay execution, until such time as he shall certify us, the lord deputy and council, of his doings and considerations of the same, and receive answers thereof from us. Provided always, that the same certificate be made unto us, the lord deputy and council, within the space of forty days after any such thing is done. Also, if any inquest within the precinct of their commission, within liberties or without, being sworn, and charged upon trial, of any felonies, murther, treason, or any like offence whatsoever, they having a good and pregnant evidence for sufficient proof of the matter whereof the said offender shall be accused, indicted, or arraigned, do utterly acquit such offenders contrary to the said evidence, that then the lord president and council, or any three or more of them (whereof

the lord president to be one) shall examine such persons as well by depositions, as by all kinds of proofs, by their discretions; and if the said inquest be convicted thereof before the said lord president and council, or any three or more of them (whereof the lord president to be one) then the said lord president and council, or any two or more of them (whereof the lord president to be one) may and shall proceed to the punishment of such offence by fine, imprisonment or wearing of papers, or standing on the pillory, as by their discretion shall seem meet. And where the lord president and some of the council have commission, power, and authority by letters patents under the great seal of Ireland, of *Oier* and *Determiner* and gaol-delivery; it is thought expedient, that the said lord president and council shall and do often, diligently, severely, and justly sit to hear and determine by virtue of the same, such causes as shall be brought before them in such several places as best may agree with the necessity of the cause, and the commodity of the people.

The lord deputy and council do likewise will and require, and in his majesty's name charge and command the said lord president and council, that in all their sessions of *oier and determiner* and sitting terms, do diligently, by charge and inquiry, search out and try, hear and determine all and all manner of extortions, oppressions, exactions, and concerning coins, softrings and liveries, payments of black rents,

bonaghs,

bonaghs, maintenance, imbraceries, conspiracies, rescues, escapes, extortions of ordinaries, defects, extortions and abuses of sheriffs, justices of peace, mayors, governors, portrieves, lieutenants, bailiffs, stewards, escheators, coroners, gaolers, and other officers, ministers of justice, and persons whatsoever, their deputies or assigns, and all and singular the offence and offences, the offender and offenders perpetrated and committed against the form, tenor, and effect of any statute or statutes, penal laws, proclamations by the lord deputy and council, or of the lord president and council there, as well in all the counties and countries aforesaid, as in all cities and towns corporate within the limits of the said commission, of what nature, quality, and condition soever any of the said offences be, and the same to punish and reform according to the course and order of law, by such fines, pains and imprisonment as are contained in the same several laws and statutes, or otherwise according to their discretion; any grant of incorporation, liberties, or claims to the contrary notwithstanding.

FURTHER, the lord president and council are to cause all and every person and persons within the said province, to bring to the said lord president and council, or any other which the lord president shall appoint (as often as they shall be thereunto required) the names of every such person as they shall name and require to be allowed as their servants, followers and kinsmen;

and the name of every such to cause to be entered into a book, to remain with the said clerk of the council, or such other person as the lord president shall appoint, and to take recognizance of every such, as well for the furthering of the said person or persons to answer all matters wherewith they may or shall be charged, as also that they shall maintain and keep them without exacting coin and livery, or other extortions spending upon his majesty's subjects.

And to the end a comely and decent order may be observed by the sheriffs, justices of peace, jurors, and other officers of justice, freeholders, and others, in all sessions and sitting terms, that the said lord deputy and council do think it convenient, that the said lord president and council there, by their proclamation or otherwise, give straight order, that all the said persons, in all times of sessions and sitting terms, do use and wear English attire and apparel; punishing by fine and imprisonment all such as shall appear before them attired in mantels and robes, and punish the wearers; and also to expel and cut all glebs; and also to take order that no persons, other than such as shall attend upon the lord president and council and sheriff, do, during the time of the sessions, or sitting terms, wear any manner of weapons or armour, and by fine and imprisonment to punish all such as shall to the contrary offend after proclamation first made.

And

And the lord deputy and council do grant and allow, that if any person or persons shall, at any time hereafter, prey or spoil the inhabitants of the said province, and fly with the said spoil into any foreign part of this realm, that then and at all such times, it shall and may be lawful to the said lord president and council, and every other persons having their warrant in writing, or any two of them (whereof the lord president to be one) to make fresh suit and prosecution after all and singular such person and persons so fleeing as aforesaid into any part or place of this land out of the said province; and he and them so fleeing with the said cattle or prey, wheresoever they shall find them, to apprehend and take, and the said person and persons, and prey so taken, to bring and return into the said county, there to answer the fact according to justice, and the cattle to be restored to the owner: charging and commanding all and singular the king's majesty's officers within the said province, and the said other foreign parts, to be aiding and assisting to the prosecuting after all such felons and traitors; and to provide they have competent entertainment for men and horses, in all such time of journey and service, paying ready money for the same, or (upon urgent necessity) leaving their ticket.

And for that it shall be necessary for the said lord president to know what forces or able men, armour, weapons, and horses are within his government, which cannot be better discovered

than by general musters yearly in every county or barony of the same; it is thought meet by the lord deputy and council, that the said lord president with two or more of the council (whereof the lord president to be one) shall every year give order to view and muster all the men within that government, as well within liberties as without, between the age of sixteen and threescore years, together with their several kinds of armour and weapons, and other habilliments of war, and also their horses meet for service; and the same to be orderly set down and yearly certified to the lord deputy, under the hand of the lord president; as also to search out by inquiry, and certify likewise what number of men that have borne arms in Sweathland, the low countries, or other foreign parts are returned into that province within these four or five years, of whom the said lord president, or any other by his appointment, are to take good security for their future loyalty and appearance upon ten days warning, before the chief governor of the realm or province. And also the lord deputy and council do straightly charge and require the said lord president, with two or more of the council (whereof the lord president to be one) to make diligent search and enquiry touching the tenures of all persons in the government, what nature they are, what service and loyalty do arise thereby to his majesty, and of all other circumstances and things material for his more full knowledge and information thereof, and

not

not only to collect and gather a true book thereof, but also that he see the said tenures in all things and points executed for his majesty's best advantage.

ITEM. That you the said lord president, shall restrain the multitude of men to attend sheriffs, the bailiffs, sessors, and collectors of the composition, and to let them have no more than a competent number, and not above two bailiffs in any barony; for the excess that way in former governments did greatly alter the hearts of the people, and that the sheriff nor his under officers take diet money of the country upon a certain fine by you the lord president and any two or more of the council, to be imposed upon them.

ITEM. That you shall have a copy of the composition book delivered unto you, to the end you may the better observe the covenants and conditions thereof, and likewise see them performed by the country, and especially to see that the soldiers be well disciplined, and not suffered to extort any thing of the country contrary to the composition.

The lord president and council, if opportunity may serve, monthly, or once every two months at least, to advertise us, the lord deputy and council, of the state of the country within their commission, or after if they shall see cause. And where the said lord president and council have by their commission sufficient authority to hear and determine, by their discretion, all

manner of complaints within any part of the province of Munſter, as well guildable as franches; yet they ſhall have regard, that except great neceſſity or other matter of conſcience conceived upon the complaint, ſhall move them, they ſhall not hinder or impeach the good courſe and uſage of the common laws of the realm, but ſhall, to their power further the execution thereof, nor ſhall not without evident and neceſſary cauſe interrupt ſuch liberties and franchiſes as have lawful commencement, and continuance by the warrants of the law, otherwiſe than where any ſpecial complaint ſhall be made unto them of any manifeſt wrong or delay of juſtice done, or uſed by the owners, officers, or miniſters of the ſaid franchiſes or liberties, and ſhall ſend for the offenders againſt whom complaint ſhall be made, and finding the ſame to be true, they ſhall not only hear and determine the particular and principal cauſes of the parties complaints, but ſhall alſo reform and puniſh, according to their diſcretion, the defaults of the owner or owners, or miniſters of the ſaid liberties, and if the matter ſhall ſo ſerve, they ſhall cauſe due information to be made to us of the abuſes of the franchiſes and liberties, ſo as the ſame may be by order (according to the laws) tryed, and upon juſt cauſes the liberties reſigned into his majeſty's hands.

ALSO we the ſaid lord deputy and council earneſtly require and ſtraightly charge the ſaid lord preſident and council, that they at all times

times and in all places, and especially where any great assembly shall be made before them, do persuade the people by all good means and ways, and especially by their own good examples, to observe all orders and forms prescribed for divine service and other exercises of christian religion, and to embrace, follow, and devoutly observe the orders and service of the church established in the realm by parliament, or otherwise by lawful authority, and earnestly to call upon and admonish all bishops and ordinaries within the precinct of their commission, diligently, fervently, and often to do the same. And if the lord president and council shall find them negligent, unable, and unwilling so to do, that then he shall advertise the lord deputy and council thereof, that they may require the bishops to proceed according to the censures of the church, with care and diligence against such as shall wilfully or contemptuously neglect the service of God; and against such as are notoriously adulterers; and such as without lawful divorce, do leave their wives, or that whilst their lawful wife liveth doth marry with another, and the sentence pronounced by the bishop or ordinary upon such offenders, the said lord president and council, shall to the uttermost of their power, and as conveniently they may, cause the said sentence to be put in execution according to the laws; and if they find the ordinary slack or remiss in his duty, and shall not do according to his office, they shall punish

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or cauſe to be puniſhed the ſame biſhop or ordinary at their diſcretion.

And alſo the lord preſident and council ſhall examine the decay of all pariſh churches within that province, and through whoſe default the ſame hath been decayed, and by advice or inforcement to cauſe them to be ſpeedily repaired and made fit for the godly and religious ſubjects to repair to by the miniſters and pariſhioners to whom it is proper to perform that work. And in caſe where his majeſty ſhall after due advice and inquiſition, be found chargeable with ſuch reparations, by reaſon of his poſſeſſion; in thoſe caſes, advertiſements ſhall be given to us, the lord deputy and council, to the end we may take order therein; or if they ſhall know of any that ſhall rob or ſpoil, or deface any church, or interrupt or hinder divine ſervice, they ſhall with all ſeverity proceed to the puniſhment of the offenders according to the laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances of this realm, or according to their diſcretion; they ſhall alſo take care that free-ſchools be built in convenient places, and that ſchool-maſters be appointed to learn the Engliſh and Latin tongue, to whom upon the lord preſident's commendation, patents ſhall be given and maintenance allowed out of the clergy of that dioceſs according to proviſion by ſtatutes in that behalf.

And the lord deputy and council have thought fit, by the aſſent of the king's majeſty, that the ſaid lord preſident ſhall have in regard of his continual

continual attendance and great pains to be taken in that office, the wages and entertainment of one hundred thirty three pounds ſix ſhillings eight pence by the year. And for that it is meet the lord preſident's perſon ſhould be attended and guarded as well for honour as ſafety with a competent number of ſoldiers, and thereby the better enabled (if occaſion ſhould ſo require) to cauſe his decrees, orders, and judgments juſtly taken and made, to be the more effectually executed, and alſo be the better prepared to anſwer any unexpected, ſudden alarm, tumult, riot, or inſurrection that might ariſe in the province; it is condeſcended and ordained by us, the lord deputy and council, that the ſaid lord preſident ſhall have the pay and entertainment of thirty perſons, being horſe-men, and twenty foot, at thirty three ſhillings ſeven pence half-penny by the day, in as large and ample manner as any former lord preſident hath enjoyed or received the ſame.

And becauſe his majeſty meaneth principally to benefit his ſubjects not only with the fruits of juſtice, but with a delivery from all unneceſſary burthens; the lord preſident and council ſhall force that no manner of extraordinary or exceſſive charge be put and laid upon any perſon againſt their own wills, agreements, or conſents, by finding or ſuſtaining of any horſe-men, foot-men, horſe-boys, foot-boys, or horſe belonging to the lord preſident or any of the ſaid council, or of any belonging to them; and

and in the like manner shall see that the subject be not oppressed with the like by any other, contrary to the laws of the realm for such causes provided in any wise.

ITEM. CONSIDERING that the king's majesty is lord, and hath title and right to a great quantity of land and possessions within Munster, as well of the ancient revenues of the crown and of other seigniories descended to the crown, as also of the dissolved monasteries and other houses ordained to superstitious uses, and the lands of attainted persons, out of which the rents are not always duly answered to his majesty (as they ought) the said lord president and council, shall from time to time, assist his highness's officers (if need be) in the due collection thereof, and shall countenance, support, and defend his fee-farmers and tenants from incroachments, wrongs, and oppressions, the better to enable them to pay their said rents, and to perform their plantation.

AND also the lord deputy and council have thought convenient that the clerk and receiver of the fines for the time being, shall diligently keep a book of all such fines, amerciaments, forfeited bonds and recognizances as shall be taxed upon any persons; and that the lord president and any two or more of the council shall have full power to compound for all fines, forfeitures, or other casualties within the province at their discretions, having therein regard not to diminish the fine, especially those that are limit-

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ted by the laws and ſtatutes, without great cauſe or conſideration, either in reſpect of the poverty of the parties, or upon appearance of the ſorrow and repentance of the party, and in expectation of his amendment hereafter, for otherwiſe it is perilous to give example in weakening the juſt terror of good laws. And alſo the ſaid lord preſident or any two or more of the council (whereof the lord preſident to be one) ſhall have full power to award, divert, and ſend forth any proceſs for any perſon upon whom any ſuch fines ſhall be ſo aſſeſſed, either againſt their bodies, goods, lands, or chattles, for the more ſpeedy and ſure levying thereof; and further it is agreed upon by the lord deputy and council, that the ſaid lord preſident, with the advice of three or more of the council, ſhall, upon needful occaſion of his majeſty's ſervice, diſtreſs by warrant ſuch ſums of money out of the ſaid fines, amerciaments, forfeitures, bonds, and recognizances that ſhall come to the hands of the ſaid clerk of the fines, as the neceſſity of the ſervice, for rewards, eſpecials, meſſengers, and the like ſhall require, for which, upon certificate under his lordſhip's hand, we, the lord deputy and council, will give order for allowance thereof to be made by concordatum, to be made as we ſhall think fit: and where there is no means in the exchequer to charge the clerk of the fines in that province with ſuch fines and forfeitures of bonds and recognizances as ſhall be aſſeſſed them, the lord preſident and council

ſhall

shall therefore cause the clerk of the council and clerk of the crown in that province, not only to estreat to the said clerk of the fines, all such fines, forfeitures, and other casualties, whereof he is made clerk and collector by his letters patents, but also in every Michaelmas term, truly to certify into the exchequer or commissioners of accounts, by way of indenture under the hand and seal of the said clerk of the fines, all such fines and forfeitures of bonds and recognizances, and other casualties, as from time to time shall be assessed and entered in either of their several offices. Also where we are informed that the cities and towns within that province do, to the great prejudice of the common wealth, altogether neglect the keeping of their markets; the lord president and council shall compel such cities and towns as have warrant, to keep market upon such days as are appointed by their charters or prescriptions, and to use all good means to make the inhabitants of the country to bring into such markets those commodities and provisions which they have to sell, inflicting punishment on such as shall sell commodities or provisions otherwise than in the said market; and if any city or town shall still neglect the keeping of their market in such orderly course as they are bound by their charters or prescriptions to do, then the lord president and council shall cease such markets, signifying unto the lord deputy what other place they shall think fit to keep the said market in, or what other

other perſon in the ſame place, they would have authorized to keep ſuch market, and warrant ſhall be conſidered of accordingly. And the lord preſident and council are to have great regard that the clerk of the market do carefully and honeſtly attend his office without oppreſſing the ſubjects. Alſo the lord preſident and council, or two of them (whereof the lord preſident to be one) ſhall and may aſſeſs and tax coſt and damage, as well to the plaintiff as to the defendants, and ſhall award executions for their doings, decrees and orders, and ſhall puniſh the breakers of the ſame, being parties or aſſiſtants thereunto, by their diſcretions.

And whereas the county of Croſs Tipperary, within the ſaid province, upon the firſt eſtabliſhment thereof, hath been limited and meared by a reaſonable circuit and precinct, and ſo have continued a long time, till by ſome late neglect of the provincial officers, to whom the civil government thereof did belong as parcel of the ſaid province. The miniſters of the ſuppoſed liberties of Tipperary taking opportunities of ſuch omiſſions, have by gradual incroachments much leſſened the ſaid county of Croſs, and brought many towns and great ſcopes of the land thereof within the juriſdiction of the ſaid ſuppoſed liberty of Tipperary: the lord preſident and council are therefore to ſee that with all convenient ſpeed, they firſt acquainting the lord of the ſaid ſuppoſed liberty, thereof; they enquire as well by examination of proof, as by

preſentment

presentment of inquests, and all other lawful means whatsoever, to find out the ancient and accustomed limit of the said county of Crosse, and having duly inquired and found the same, to see it be reduced to the ancient bounds of the said county of Crosse, to be thereby contributary, and the people of those reduced parcels brought under the command and authority of the same precedency as formerly they have been and ought, that his majesty may not be prejudiced by such incroachments. Whereas divers lewd and malicious persons have heretofore, of late days, more and more devised, and spread false tales, news, sayings, writing seditious books and libels, which among the people have wrought and hereafter may work great mischief and inconveniencies; to the intent the like may be avoided hereafter, and the inventors and setters forth thereof may be condignly punished, the said lord deputy and council's pleasure is, that the said lord president and council as is aforesaid, shall have due regard thereof, and that wheresoever any such false and seditious tales, news, sayings, writings, books, letters, or libels shall be devised, reported, published, and dispersed within any the limits and jurisdictions aforesaid; that the publishers, dispersers, and reporters thereof be forthwith stayed, and all means used to attach them all from one to another, until the first author may be apprehended, and such offenders shall be duly and openly punished by the said lord

lord president and council, or any two or more of them, whereof the lord president to be one, by fine, imprisonment, wearing of papers, and the like, according to their discretions.

And the said lord deputy and council do think fit, and accordingly by these presents give full power and authority to the said lord president and council, or any two or more of them (whereof the lord president to be one) to hear and determine, and also to punish all manner of persons within all and every the limits and jurisdictions aforesaid, which shall be notoriously known to live contrary to God's laws, and the king's highness's ecclesiastical laws, in incest, adultery, or fornication, to the offence and dishonour of almighty God, and to the evil and pernicious example of his highness's subjects; provided always, and our meaning is, that no person shall be called in question by the force of this article, for any the offences aforesaid, unless the same offences shall be alledged and proved to be done or committed within the space of three years next before information thereof given, nor that any such offender shall be examined upon oath: provided also and our meaning is, that the ordinary of every diocess where any such offender shall be resident or *remorant*, shall or may proceed for the better satisfying the congregation, and for the more knowledge of the offender's penitence in that behalf according to the laws and censures of the church, as heretofore they have done; any thing

contained in this article to the contrary notwithstanding.

And the said lord deputy and council do likewise by these presents give full power and authority to the said lord president and council, or to any two or more of them, (whereof the lord president to be one) if any person that hath been by the space of three years quietly in seisin and possession of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, either of freehold or other tenure, within the said province, shall be riotously, forceably, or fraudulently, disseised, expelled, or put out of the same, or holden out with force, or otherwise shall be vexed with often and continual suits or disturbances, that in such cases, though the party grieved may have ordinary remedy by the common law, they may, upon complaint thereof made unto them by bill or information, take order for the settling, quieting, or restoring of the possession of the same lands, tenements, and hereditaments, until the title or interest of the same shall be decided or tried by the due course of common law, as to their discretions shall be thought fit; provided that in such cases the surmise of the force or continual vexation or disturbance may be traversed, and if the same be not sufficiently proved by the plaintiff, according according to his complaints, then the matter shall be dismissed, with good costs to be awarded to the defendant, except the plaintiff in his bill or complaint have also alledged matter of equity, and so proved the same,

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as the court ſhall ſo cauſe to decree for him thereupon.

THE ſaid lord deputy do grant and allow that it may and ſhall be lawful for the ſaid lord preſident and council, or any three or more of them (whereof the lord preſident to be one) at all times and from time, to ſet out by proclamation in and throughout the ſaid province of Munſter, or in any quarter or part of the ſame, any thing or matter in their diſcretion thought neceſſary for the better furtherance of his majeſty's ſervice, better order of the ſubjects, repreſſing of offences and offenders in ſort as to the ſaid lord preſident and council ſhall be thought convenient; and becauſe the ſerviceable ways and means, and neceſſary orders and inſtructions to reduce and bring the looſe and idle people to obedience, civility, and reformation cannot ſo ſufficiently be ſet down as is requiſite, but that the great part ſhall reſt and remain to be ordered and uſed in diſcretion there; the lord deputy and council do grant and allow that the ſaid lord preſident and council there, or any two or more of them (whereof the lord preſident to be one) ſhall at all times in all actions neceſſary to be prevented, redreſſed, puniſhed, or otherwiſe ordered in all other actions neceſſary concerning the ſervice to be done in the ſaid province of Munſter, and not remembered or contained in theſe inſtructions; uſe his and their diſcretions in the ſetting down of orders to prevent, puniſh and reform the ſame, to be

as available to all intents and purposes, as if the lord deputy and council had by instructions granted and allowed the same. Finally, for the more honourable maintenance of the said lord president's houshold, there is allowed for the said lord president and council after the rate of ten pounds sterling money by the week, to be employed only for the table charge of the said houshold, half yearly to be received at the hands of the vice treasurer and general receiver of the king's revenues of this realm, for payment whereof, there shall remain in the hand of the said vice treasurer and receiver general for the time being, a warrant dormant, whereby the said vice-treasurer shall be authorized to pay the said lord president one half year's allowance always before hand, towards the making of his necessary provisions, either out of the revenue, or if he shall not have sufficient treasure, out of any other treasure or money.

Tho. Dublin, canc. William Methwold. Oliver St. John. Richard Cooke. John Kinge. James Hamilton.

By

By the lord deputy.

To our very good lord the lord chancellor.

Ol. St. John,

THESE are to pray and require you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to cause to issue forth under the great seal of this kingdom, a commission directed to the persons undernamed, authorizing them, or any two or more of them, whereof captain Nicholas Pynnar to be always one, to enquire by all good ways and means by their own view, or by oath and deposition of witnesses, or by impannelling juries of good and lawful men of and in the several counties of Tyrone, Donnegal, Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Londonderry, of and upon the several points, instructions, and articles contained in a schedule hereunto annexed, concerning the performance of such things as are to be done by the several undertakers, servitors, and natives of and in the said several counties in the plantation of the lands granted unto them by his majesty's letters patents. And further authorizing them, or any two or more of them aforesaid, to minister and take the oath of his majesty's supremacy, according to the statute of the second of Elizabeth, of all the undertakers and their freeholders, lessees, and undertenants, in the several counties above specified, and inserting therein such other clauses as in like commissions are or have been

usual; and the said commissions to be returnable with all convenient speed, or at the furthest in *quindena Paschæ* next ensuing. For doing whereof this shall be your lordship's warrant. Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 27th day of November 1618.

Hen. Holcroft.

FIRST, whether every undertaker of a small proportion, consisting of 1000 acres, within the several counties of Tyrone, Donnegal, Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Londonderry, and every of them, have built a strong bawne or court, upon the proportions granted to them by letters patents, or how much thereof he hath built, and generally in what forwardness the same is.

WHETHER every undertaker of middle proportions, consisting of 1500 acres, within the above-named counties, have built a house of stone or brick, with a bawne upon the same, or in what forwardness the same is.

WHETHER every undertaker of a great proportion, consisting of 2000 acres, within the said counties, have built a castle or stone house thereupon, with a bawne about it; or what and how much building is done upon each proportion in nature as aforesaid; and what proportion or proportions within the said several counties, are not built upon according to the articles of plantation, or the bonds of the several undertakers respectively.

WHETHER

WHETHER every undertaker of 1000 acres, within the ſaid counties, hath planted upon his proportion ten Britiſh families, containing twenty four men at the leaſt, of eighteen years of age or upwards; or how many of ſuch families there be ſo planted, and what numbers of Britiſh undertakers, and whether, according to the rules of plantation, he have two fee-farmers, three leſſees, and four huſbandmen or cottagers, and whether he hath made eſtates unto the ſaid tenants, according to the articles of plantation, and according to his bonds, of the quantities of land mentioned therein.

WHETHER every undertaker of a middle or great proportion, within the ſaid counties, have in like manner planted Britiſh families, conſiſting of numbers of men as aforeſaid, and made eſtates rateably according to the quantities of their proportions, as is directed by the ſame articles of plantation, and as the ſeveral undertakers are bound to do.

How many ſuch families every Britiſh undertaker within the ſaid ſeveral counties hath, and what eſtates he hath made unto them, and whether he hath made any eſtates or demiſes of any land contained in his patent, to any perſon or perſons, being meer Iriſh, or that hath not, or will not take the oath of ſupremacy, according to the proviſo in his letters patents expreſſed; and what natives of any of the ſaid counties do now dwell or inhabit upon any of the ſaid land.

WHETHER every undertaker hath convenient store of arms upon his proportion, according to his covenant and bond. What undertakers, by themselves or their sufficient agent are resident upon their proportions, and whether they have made their residence according to their covenant. Whether the several persons in the said several counties by grant as servitors, have performed their several buildings in their several proportions, according to their several patents and bonds, and according to the articles of plantation, and how far they have proceeded in their said buildings.

WHETHER the tenant and inhabitant, as well upon the proportions granted to British undertakers, as to servitors and natives in the said several counties, have built their houses together and in towns towards their better defence and safety, according to the articles of plantation, and what tenants of any the said lands do dwell dispersedly, contrary to the intent of said articles.

WHETHER the several natives, planted by grant in the said several counties, have also performed the buildings upon the lands granted unto them, according to their bond, and the articles of plantation.

WHETHER the said natives have made certain estates for lives or years to under-tenants, of or upon the lands granted to them as aforesaid, according to the articles of plantation.

WHETHER the said natives in the said several counties, have used, or caused their tenants to use tillage and husbandry, after the manner of the

the English pale, according to the articles of plantation.

WHAT arms and munition each undertaker is tied by his tenure to have in readiness for his own defence and the service of the crown.

EVERY 500 acres of escheated lands in the county of Donnegal, is tied to have in readiness in his house upon the said land, for his own defence and the king's service, 3 muskets and calivers, 3 hand-weapons, to furnish 6 men.

EVERY 1000 acres are to have in readiness 6 muskets and calivers, 6 hand-weapons to arm 12 men.

EVERY 2000 acres are to have in readiness 12 muskets and calivers, 12 hand-weapons to arm 24 men.

AND 890 acres are to have in readiness, 5 muskets and calivers, 5 hand-weapons to arm 10 men.

The oath of supremacy.

I *A. B.* do verily testify and declare in my conscience, that the king's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other his highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual as ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal, and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm. And therefore I do utterly

utterly renounce and forſake all foreign juriſdiction, powers, ſuperiorities, and authorities, and do promiſe, that from henceforth I ſhall bear faith and true allegiance to the king's highneſs, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and to my power ſhall aſſiſt and defend all juriſdictions, privileges, preeminences, and authorities granted or belonging to the king's highneſs, his heirs and ſucceſſors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and by the holy contents of this book.

THE condition of this obligation is ſuch, that if the within bounden A. B. or his heirs, within three years, to be accounted from the firſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, do erect and build one dwelling houſe of ſtone or brick, with a ſtrong court or bawne about the ſame, in or upon the proportion of land called the proportion of A. lying within the barony or precinct of D. in the county of E. and ſhall alſo within the ſaid three years, plant or place upon the ſaid proportions of land 48 able men of the age of eighteen years or upwards, being born in England or the inland parts of Scotland; which 48 men ſhall be reduced into twenty ſeveral families at leaſt, to be ſettled upon the ſaid proportion in this manner, *viz.* the ſaid A. B. ſhall ſubſtitute to reſide upon the ſame (being allowed by the lords of the council of England or Scotland, or the lord deputy or chief governor of Ireland for the time being) and his family to be ſettled upon a demeſne

demesne of 600 acres, 4 fee farmers to be made by the said A. B. to be settled each of them upon 120 acres a-piece; six leaseholders for three lives or twenty one years, to be settled every of them upon 100 acres a-piece; and shall place and settle upon the residue of acres lying within the said proportion, eight families or more of husbandmen, artificers, or cottagers, their proportions of land to be assigned by the direction of the said A. B. and shall also during the space of five years after the feast of St. Michael the archangel next ensuing the date hereof, be resident himself in person upon the proportion or place; such other person thereupon, as shall be allowed as aforesaid, who shall be resident upon the same, until the end of the said five years, unless by reason of sicknness, or other important cause, he be licensed by the lords of the council of England, or by the lord deputy or chief governor of Ireland, to be absent himself for a time; and shall not alien the said proportion of land, or any part thereof, during the said five years, to be accounted from Michaelmas next, but unto his or their under-tenants, in form and manner before expressed; that then this present obligation to be void, or else to stand, &c.

County of Fermanagh.

NICHOLAS PINNER, esq; and William Ferrer, esq; commissioners of our sovereign lord the king, for the county aforesaid assigned, to the high sheriff of the said county, greeting.

Whereas

Whereas by virtue of his majesty's commission to us and others directed, we are appointed and authorized to enquire by all good ways and means by view, by oath, and deposition of witnesses, or impannelling of juries of and upon the several points, articles, and instructions contained in a schedule to our said commission annexed, concerning the performance of such things as are to be done by the several undertakers, servitors, and natives in this county, on the plantation of the lands granted unto them by his majesty, according to the statute of 2 Eliz. of all the undertakers and their freeholders, lessees, and under-tenants in the said county, and to do any other act and thing concerning the premisses, as to us shall seem meet and convenient, as by the said commission appeareth: these are therefore to require you to give summons and warning to the several undertakers and servitors hereunder named, and in their or any of their absence, to their and every of their agents, that they and every of them, with their and every of their fee farmers, lessees, and cottagers and under-tenants resident and dwelling upon their several proportions, make their personal appearances before us at our upon the 21st of this instant between the hours of in the forenoon of the same day, to take the oath of his majesty's supremacy as abovesaid. And also that they the said fee farmers, lessees, and cottagers, produce before us the several grants and estates to them made by the said undertakers

kers and ſervitors, and of any of the lands aboveſaid. And that you ſummon 24 good and lawful men of your barony to make their appearances before us at the day and place aforeſaid, to enquire for our ſovereign lord the king, of ſuch things as by us ſhall be enjoined them. Hereof fail not, and this ſhall be your warrant. Dated under our hands this tenth of December, 1618.

County of Fermanagh.

RICHARD ATKINSON, high ſheriff of the county aforeſaid,

my bailiffs for this buſineſs only, greeting. By virtue of a precept to me directed from Nicholas Pinner, eſq; and William Ferrer, eſq; commiſſioners from our ſovereign lord the king, to enquire by all good ways and means, by view, by oath, and depoſition of witneſſes, or impannelling of juries, of, upon, and concerning the performance of all ſuch things as are or were to be done by the ſeveral undertakers, ſervitors, and natives of and in the ſeveral eſcheated counties in the province of Ulſter, in the plantation of the lands granted unto them by his majeſty's letters patents: theſe are to require and command you to give ſummons and warning to the ſeveral undertakers and ſervitors hereunder named, and in their or any of their abſence, to their and every of their agents, that they and every of them, with their and every of their fee farmers, leſſees, cottagers, and under-tenants

reſident

reſident and dwelling upon their ſeveral proportions, make their perſonal appearances before the ſaid commiſſioners at New Purton, upon the of this inſtant between the hours of and in the forenoon of the ſame day, to take the oath of his majeſty's ſupremacy, according to the ſtatute of 2 Eliz. And alſo that they the ſaid fee-farmers, leſſees, and cottagers, produce before the ſaid commiſſioners, the ſeveral grants and eſtates to them made by the ſaid undertakers and ſervitors, of any of the lands aboveſaid. And alſo, that you ſummon the ſeveral perſons within written, that they and every of them, make their perſonal appearance before the ſaid commiſſioners, at the time and place aforeſaid, then and there to enquire for our ſovereign lord the king, of ſuch things as by the ſaid commiſſioners, by virtue of their ſaid commiſſion, ſhall be enjoined them. Hereof fail not, and for your ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Dated under the ſeal of my office, this of

The true copy of my patent, for the muſtering and training of the undertakers in Munſter and Connaught.

JAMES, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all men to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. Whereas certain numbers of horſe and foot, with ſufficient arms and

and furniture for them, ought to be maintained for the ſervice of our crown, and the defence of our realm of Ireland, as well by the ſeveral undertakers in the ſeveral plantations made within the ſaid kingdom, as by divers and ſundry other perſons and towns in the other parts of that realm, commonly called and known by the name of out-riſing, or riſing out of the country. And foraſmuch as we are informed, that great miſchiefs and inconveniencies have heretofore happened to the inhabitants of that kingdom, and eſpecially in the time of the laſt rebellion, when the country was often over-run with ſudden incurſions, and made a ſpoil to rebels and enemies, by reaſon they were not provided, through their own default, of ſuch forces and arms as ought always to have been kept in a readineſs by them for their own defence; we have thought fit for prevention of the like negligence hereafter, and of the harms and inconveniencies that may enſue thereof, that yearly, at certain times to be appointed from time to time by our deputy of that our realm of Ireland, or by any other deputy, lieutenant, chief governor or governors of that kingdom, for the time being, all and every the horſemen and footmen, with their horſes, arms, and furniture, which are to be provided, kept, and maintained, by all and every the ſeveral undertakers in the ſeveral plantations in the ſaid realm; and alſo all ſuch horſemen and footmen, with their horſes, arms, and furniture, which any other perſons or towns whatſoever ought to find,

keep,

keep, and maintain, for or in respect of the rising out, or out-rising of the country, shall be mustered and viewed, and trained to the use of their arms, by such muster-masters, as we shall think meet from time to time to trust with that employment, who are to receive for their pains, travel, and expences therein, according to the like manner used in our realm of England, out of the several places and countries chargeable with the maintenance of the said forces, such yearly entertainments as are competent and proportionable for the endeavours and quality of the persons fit to be trusted with a service of so great consequence: and therefore, we have made choice of our well-beloved subject captain Nicholas Pynnar, to perform the said service, and to be employed as our muster-master of the said forces, and rising out in our provinces of Munster and Connaught. Know ye, that we for and in consideration of the good and faithful service to us heretofore done and performed, and hereafter to be done and performed by the said captain Nicholas Pynnar, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, with the advice and consent of our right trusty, and well-beloved counsellor Sir Oliver St. John, knight, our deputy general of our said realm of Ireland, and according to the tenor and purport of our letters, bearing date at Auckland the nineteenth day of April, in the fifteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftieth, and now enrolled in the rolls of

our

our high court of chancery, in our ſaid realm of Ireland, as by the ſaid letters remaining on record there, more at large doth and may appear, have created, made, ordained, conſtituted, and appointed, and by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do create, make, ordain, conſtitute, and appoint the ſaid captain Nicholas Pynnar to be our muſter-maſter, eſpecially authorized and appointed for the muſtering, viewing, and training of all and every ſuch horſemen and footmen, with their horſes, arms, and furniture, as are to be found, kept, and maintained, as well by all and every our ſeveral undertakers in our provinces of Munſter and Connaught, in our ſaid realm of Ireland, for or in reſpect of any reſervation, covenant, or article, in the ſeveral letters patents; as alſo by all and every other perſons, bodies politick, and corporate, or towns within the ſaid provinces, for or in reſpect of the out-riſing or riſing out of the country, within the ſaid provinces of Munſter and Connaught. And by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, we do give and grant unto the ſaid captain Nicholas Pynnar, the office or place of muſter-maſter of the horſemen and footmen, horſes, arms, and furniture, of our ſaid ſeveral undertakers, in the ſaid provinces of Munſter and Connaught; and of all the ſaid out-riſing or riſing out of the countries aforeſaid, within the ſaid provinces, to have and to hold the ſaid office or place of muſter-maſter as aforeſaid, unto the ſaid captain Nicholas Pynnar,

during his good behaviour in the execution of the ſaid office. And further, we do by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, give and grant unto the ſaid captain Nicholas Pynnar, full power, licence, and authority, to muſter, view, and train to the uſe of their arms, from time to time, as often as there ſhall be occaſion, and as our ſaid deputy general, or any other deputy, lieutenant, chief governor or governors of the ſaid realm of Ireland, for the time being, ſhall think fit to direct, by inſtructions to be given unto him the ſaid captain Nicholas Pynnar in that behalf, as well all and ſingular the horſemen and footmen, with their horſes, arms, and furniture, which are to be provided, kept, and maintained, by all and ſeveral the ſaid ſeveral undertakers, in the ſeveral plantations in the ſaid provinces of Munſter and Connaught, as aforeſaid, and every of them; as alſo all and ſingular ſuch horſemen and footmen, with their horſes, arms, and furniture, which ought to be found, kept, and maintained by any other perſon or perſons, bodies politick or corporate, or towns within the ſaid provinces of Munſter and Connaught, for or in reſpect of their riſing out, or out-riſing of the country there; to have, hold, uſe, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſaid power, licence, and authority of muſtering, viewing, and training of perſons before-mentioned, and of their horſes, arms, and furniture, as aforeſaid, unto the ſaid captain Nicholas Pynnar, for and during his good behaviour in the execution thereof.

And

And further, we do expresly require and command the said captain Nicholas Pynnar, that he the said Nicholas Pynnar, upon every such his mustering, viewing, and training, as aforesaid, do, from time to time, make and deliver a true and particular certificate in writing unto our said deputy, or other deputy, lieutenant, or chief governor or governors of our said realm of Ireland, for the time being, of all and every such defect and omissions, either in the number of men or horses, or of their arms and furniture, or in the sufficiency or quality of them, or every, or any of them, as he the said Nicholas Pynnar shall from time to time find upon such his mustering, viewing, and training, as aforesaid; that thereupon, our said deputy, or other chief governor or governors there, for the time being, may take such order for punishing their said omissions, and for their future amendment, and reformation of the said defect, as to him or them shall be thought fitting for the good of our service in the said realm. And we require all mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, bailiffs, sovereigns, portrieves, constables, and all and singular other our officers and loving subjects, that they and every of them be from time to time aiding and assisting unto the said captain Nicholas Pynnar, in the execution of the said office, as becometh. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness our said deputy general of our said realm of Ireland. At Dublin, the last of September,

in the fifteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the one and fiftieth.

INSTRUCTIONS for our right-trusty, and well beloved Sir Oliver St. John, knight, our deputy of our realm of Ireland, to be observed by him, with the advice of our council in that kingdom, in the plantations of the county of Leitrim; and the several territories of Ferrall Macoghlon's country, Kilcoursy in the King's-county, Iregan in the Queen's-county, and Omelaghlin's country in the county of Westmeath.

1. BY the late survey taken, and sent unto us, it appeareth, that the escheated lands of all sorts do amount unto, in

	Acres.
Leitrim	182536
Ferrall, *alias* Omolloy's	49235
Macoghlin's country, *alias* Delvin in Coghlin	35288
Killcoursy, *alias* Foxes country, in the King's-county	6346
Iregan, *alias* Odoyne, in the Queen's county	27405
Part of the barony of Kilcomon, *alias* Omelaghlin's country, in the county of Westmeath	7672
Total	308482

OUT

2. Out of which we are pleased, that all lands anciently belonging to bishops, or other ecclesiastical dignities; the ancient glebes, abbey-lands, lands formerly granted by patents, or the greatest part of them, according to your discretion; unprofitable mountain waste and bog as they are found by the survey, shall be first set apart; and then there will remain of good land and profitable woods to be planted,

In Leitrim	74729
In the other territories	55871

3. Of this profitable land, amounting together to 130600 acres, our pleasure is, that you, with the advice aforesaid, shall first take out to be disposed, by way of addition for glebes, to several incumbents, for the maintenance of the ministers, after the rate of 60 acres for every 1000 acres. And for the planting of two corporate towns, one in the county of Leitrim; and the other territories 200 acres a-piece. And for the maintenance of 2 free schools, in the said counties and territories, severally 200 acres a-piece; and for one fort to be built in the foresaid territories 200 acres, all of them to be planted in some such places respectively, as to you, as aforesaid, shall be thought fit; which allowances being made, we have cast up to remain of profitable land to be disposed,

In Leitrim	69843 acres,
And in the other territories	51919 acres,
Making 121762 acres.	

The glebes of the King's-county is 3120 acres.

4. Of the 69843 acres in the county of Leitrim, we are resolved to dispose to British undertakers a full half, because we have, by the advice of the lords of our council, taken a course for the maintenance of Bryan O'Rourke, the supposed son of Sir Teighe O'Rourke, by a liberal pension to be paid him in England, during his life, and rather chosen to be at that charge with him here, than to suffer him to live there in person, where he may be offensive, though illegitimate, to our subjects, to be planted by the means of such idle people as may resort unto him, as followers or dependants on his supposed father Sir Teighe O'Rourke, which half so to be disposed of will amount unto 34921.

5. And in the other territories, because we understand that our subjects there inhabiting, are a people of a better and more civil condition, we are pleased to take a fourth part only to be planted with British, the whole being divided into four equal parts, and to leave the other three parts for settling of the natives, and formerly possessors, to be granted to them and their heirs in fee-farm, in such manner, as to you shall be thought fit, and as near as may stand with our ensuing directions, having respect to the possessors, found for them respectively

tively in the general office and survey taken by the lord Chichester, and to the late ameasurement for the quantities, which 4th part will amount to, in all 12979.

6. ALTHOUGH we have observed by former plantations, that great proportions disposed into the hands of few, have much prejudiced the good service intended to be done thereby in that kingdom; and therefore did take order in the late plantation of Longford and Elyocarrel, that no undertaker shall have above 1000 acres for his share, yet being made acquainted with the conditions, as well of the people, as of the soil of the country of Leitrim; we have in our wisdom thought it fit, for the good of the plantation there, to assign unto some few men of especial quality, larger quantities than heretofore we have done; to the end that the other undertakers of lesser proportions may receive countenance and encouragement, and the barbarous Irish residing in those parts, be the more easily reduced to civility and obedience. To others of inferior rank, we have, according to the course held in our late plantation, assigned several proportions of profitable lands, consisting of 1000, 800, 700, 600, 500, 400, 300 and 200 acres a-piece; besides bog, barren mountain and unprofitable wood, of which there is a proportional division likewise to be made amongst them all, according to the several quantities they are to have by our assignments.

7. Because the moiety of the lands in Leitrim, set a-part by us for natives, is more than the now inhabitants can justly challenge, Bryan O'Rourke being provided for as aforesaid, our intent being, that these natives shall have proportions out of the whole, granted unto them rateably, answerable to three-fourth parts of such possessions as were found for them in the general office and survey taken by the lord Chichester, so far forth as may stand with our ensuing directions; our pleasure further is, that out of the said moiety, not to be granted to undertakers, such a convenient proportion of land shall be assigned to you as aforesaid, for the present maintenance of Mary M'Donnell, the supposed wife of Sir Teige O'Rourke, during her life, as to you shall be thought fit; the perpetuity thereof to be disposed by us, as there shall be cause. And likewise our pleasure is, that you, with the advice aforesaid, shall take into your considerations Mary M'Guire, the wife of Bryan O'Rourke, late reputed son of Sir Bryan O'Rourke, attainted, and Con her son, and make some reasonable provision for her out of the said moiety, during her life; the remainder of her said sons, and his heirs, in fee-farm, if you shall find cause, to whose care and discretion we wholly leave them. And we do likewise refer to your judgment, whether the said two women and the said Con should be transplanted and settled in any of the other territories, or be continued in the county of Leitrim, where they

are,

are, of your doing wherein we do allow. Lastly, because we have received many good testimonies from you our deputy, and others of our council there, of the faithful service done unto our crown, by John Reynolds, esq; during the former and late troubles in that kingdom, and since we do require you to take him into your special care, and out of the said moiety, not only to confirm unto him and his sons all such lands as they, or any of them, or his brother William to his use were found by the late general survey to be possessed of, without diminution; but in respect of his said services, and his pretended interest in Montiralis part of that country, to confer upon him such further proportion, by way of addition to his former estate, as to you in your discretion shall be thought fit, the rest of the said moiety remaining, our pleasure is, you shall grant to the natives and their heirs in fee-farm, in such manner as you shall devise, as aforesaid. And whereas the said John Reynolds hath hitherto held a parcel of land, being abbey land, near Cloone, which was laid to a fourth there; our pleasure is, that it remain in his hands during his life, as formerly it did, and afterwards to be continued as a fourth for our service.

8. You shall likewise take into your considerations all such pretended chiefries as were then found to be held by the pretended chieftains of the other territories, and make some reasonable composition with them respectively, for the said pretended

pretended chiefries, either by abatement of rents, or giving them land in lieu thereof, out of the said three-fourth parts thereof, or by any other ways, as to you shall seem good; to the end, that our subjects there inhabiting, may be free from any tax or dependency of the said pretended lord, and pay rent only to us, and depend immediately upon us and our crown.

9. The lands granted to any man by patent, and enjoyed accordingly, are either not to be called in question at all; or if the necessity of the plantation shall require to exchange land with the present patentees, then the said patentee to have other lands assigned unto him, of equal quantity and value, as near as may be, upon the same rents, covenants, and conditions, as formerly he held, unless you shall find the patent so defective, that you, with the advice aforesaid, justly take one-fourth part from him, and to be free of the charge of measurement, unless by reason of defect, himself shall desire a new patent; and in this case to be rateably subject to the same, as undertakers and natives.

10. But to make all doubts the more clear hereafter, it were fit, that a submission to the plantation may be required and performed by all the pretended freeholders, at the first entrance into the work, which we require you, with the advice aforesaid, presently to take into your care, and to see it done with all convenient expedition.

11. Many

11. Many of the principal natives in the aforesaid several territories, and civil men, have built good houses and bawns, and some of them strong castles; and to these, if the conveniency of the plantation will permit, we are pleased to grant them their houses and castles again, with land about them, upon the same conditions as the other natives have their lands; and accordingly do require you to have a special care, to give contentment to the best gentlemen, and chiefest of several Septs, by making good provision for them, that by them the clamours of the multitude may be restrained.

12. The places where the undertakers should be planted, we leave to the discretion of you, with the advice aforesaid; though we are of opinion, that it would sooner civilize the people, and keep them from their private meeting, to have the undertakers mixed among them, than to be designed to any place by themselves.

13. We are desirous rather to gain a good people, and make a strong country, than a rackt rent; and therefore, we are pleased, that no greater rent shall be taken for this land, than three pence English an acre of the undertakers, and two pence halfpenny English of the natives, one with another, for the profitable lands, in respect of the charge, and the building and planting. And for the bog, barren mountain, and unprofitable wood (of which every native and undertaker is to have an addition to their other proportions, as it may fall out) you are to set

rent

rent upon the ſame, both to the natives and undertakers, as you ſhall ſee cauſe, having reſpect to the likelihood or unlikelihood of improvement.

14. Every undertaker of 1000 acres and upwards, is to hold of us in *capite*; others of leſſer proportions, to hold of our Caſtle of Dublin in free and common ſoccage.

15. Every native to be allotted above 800 acres, ſhall hold of us in *capite*; and other natives of leſſer proportions, in free and common ſoccage.

16. Every undertaker of 1000 acres and upwards to 2000, ſhall, within three years, build a caſtle of thirty feet in length, twenty feet in breadth, and twenty-five in height; the caſtle to be built of ſtone or brick with lime, and compaſſed with a bawne of 300 feet, and fourteen feet high of ſtone or brick with lime; and every undertaker of 600 acres, and ſo to 1000, ſhall build a ſtrong houſe within a bawne, of ſtone or brick with lime, of 200 foot in compaſs; and every undertaker of a quantity under 600 acres, ſhall build a good houſe with ſtone or brick with lime.

17. Every undertaker of 1000 acres, ſhall within the ſame time plant and eſtate in his land one Britiſh freeholder in fee, to have 200 acres of profitable land, beſides unprofitable lands thereunto lying.

18. Every undertaker of 1500 acres, ſhall within the ſame time plant and eſtate in his land

two

two British freeholders in fee, the one to have 200 acres, and the other 120 acres of profitable land, with addition of unprofitable land as aforesaid; the said freeholders to build with stone or brick, and inclosed within a reasonable time.

19. EVERY undertaker of 5000 acres, shall within the same time build a strong castle of stone or brick with lime, of forty-four feet long and 22 feet broad, and thirty feet high, within a bawn of 320 feet in compass, and fourteen feet high, of like materials, and shall plant and estate in his land five British freeholders, three of 120 acres a-piece, two of 200 acres a-piece, of the natives aforesaid; and also seven British lessees for twenty-one years or three lives, *viz.* four of 120 acres a-piece, and three of 200 acres a-piece, who shall also build and inclose as aforesaid.

20. EVERY native of 1000 acres and upwards, shall build as the undertakers of the like proportions; and every native of 600 acres and upwards, shall build a house of brick or stone with lime, as you shall appoint.

21. EVERY quantity of 1000 acres, to be granted either to undertakers or natives, shall be made a manor, with power to create tenures, reserving at the least 400 acres in demesne, and also a court leet; and every proportion of 600 acres and upwards, to be made a manor, with a court-baron, if you shall think it fit.

22. WE are pleased that there are four markets in Leitrim, and three in other territories, and

and fairs according to your discretion, reserving rents upon them.

23. No native shall have granted unto him less than 100 acres, except very few, and upon good considerations; and none at all under 60 acres, to be accounted according to the last admeasurement of profitable land; and all of them to hold immediately from us to lessen the dependance upon their lords.

24. Every undertaker and native that is bound to build, shall have liberty to take a proportionable quantity of timber and other materials for building, in any place within the plantation, by warrant of you our deputy and council, with a limitation of the time for that liberty.

25. Every undertaker and native shall content himself to enjoy his proportion according to the number of acres laid down, and the mears trodden by the measurement, without question of old mears.

26. Every undertaker and native shall cause his under-tenants to build together in town-roads, with a *nomine pœnæ* at your discretions, to be named particularly in their grants, for those that shall suffer their tenants to build dispersedly.

27. The natives are to be tied by provisoes of forfeiture not to alien their lands in fee simple or fee farm to any of the Irish, lest the Irish lords should grow great again, unless they shall be licensed so to do, either from us, or by you our deputy, or chief governor or governors and council

council there, under the great ſeal of that kingdom, and a proviſo for entering into actual rebellion; and care is alſo to be had that they make certain eſtates to the under-tenants, and not to leave them at will to ſhift every year.

28. Every undertaker and native is to ſow every year a quantity of hempſeed, according to our former directions in that behalf, and that proportionally according to the quantities of each man's proportion, as you ſhall think fit.

29. You are, at the time of this diviſion, to aſſign out of every 1000 acres, 60 acres with wood and bog thereunto lying, which is to be granted for the maintenance of the incumbents of the ſeveral pariſhes, made or to be made within theſe plantations. And for that there are no houſes of reſidence (as we are informed) for the miniſters, our pleaſure is, that you ſhall take eſpecial care to have the profit of the ſaid lands ſeverally collected during the ſpace of three years, to be accounted from that time of the firſt poſſeſſion granted to the natives and undertakers, to be by your diſcretions beſtowed for the building of ſeveral houſes for the miniſters in the ſeveral pariſhes, whereby all pretences of non-reſidence may be taken away, which you are to do, with the advice and aſſiſtance of the ſeveral biſhops where the lands do lie.

30. The natives to be tied upon a proviſo of forfeiture, neither to take upon them any Iriſh names of ſeignory, as Orourke, Omolly, Fox, Mc Coghlan, or Odoyne, nor ſet up, aſſiſt,

or

or maintain any to usurp that name, by giving of Irish, cutting services, helps, or otherways.

31. The whole charge of measuring all the said lands, and other necessary expences for the finishing and settling of those lands, are to be be borne by the undertakers and natives by equal contribution; but the charge to be viewed by you our deputy and council, and no more raised than hath been duly disbursed.

32. No man to be admitted an undertaker but such as will readily take the oath of supremacy; and as far as may be the natives to be drawn to this course.

33. Every undertaker and native is to be bound by recognizance before our chancellor there, before he hath his patent to perform all the conditions of the plantation within three years. The recognizance to be duly taken and kept in Ireland, to the end they may be put in suit, if there be cause; the transcript of them, or some brief notes to be sent over hither, and a covenant of forfeiture of 500 *l. nomine pœnæ*, for every 1000 acres, and so rateably for greater and lesser proportions, to be inserted in their patents, in case they shall not perform their building in that time.

34. Undertakers shall have no power to alien their lands to one another without licence of us or our deputy, or other governor or governors there for the time being, under the great seal; for so all may in time be drawn into the hands of some few of the undertakers, and the plantation

plantation come to nothing; nor to alien at all, or demiſe above forty years to the meer Iriſh, but upon forfeiture of the lands to the crown.

35. A covenant ſhall be inſerted in the undertakers grants that they ſhall for the moſt part perſonally reſide upon their land, unleſs they ſhall be licenſed from us, or our deputy and council of that our realm for the time being, and in that caſe to leave a ſufficient agent thereupon.

36. WHEREAS there will (as we conceive) be found in the lands to be granted to the natives as aforeſaid, divers proportions under the rate of 100 acres, or 60 at the leaſt, of which quantities freeholders are not to be made as aforeſaid, which may amount to ſome good quantities, in reſpect we are informed that divers of the ſaid natives were poſſeſſed but of ſmall quantities, our pleaſure is, and hereby we do authorize you to grant all ſuch ſmall quantities to ſuch of the better ſort of the natives, for their enabling, and to ſuch others in fee farm, as to you ſhall be thought fit.

37. ALTHOUGH none of the children of Sir Teige O Rourke, being apparently found to be baſtards, can either in law or equity accept any lands or other relief from us, yet we are pleaſed in pity and charity to look upon them, and as we have made a good proviſion for Bryan O Rourke, the reputed eldeſt ſon, to maintain him here in England, ſo we are not unmindful of the other brother, Hugh O Rourke, remaining there; theſe are therefore to require you,

with the advice aforesaid, to grant unto him, by letters patents during his life, an annuity or yearly pension of 100*l.* English money, to be quarterly paid unto him out of the revenues of that our realm, for which this shall be unto you, our deputy and our officers, a sufficient warrant.

38. The inferior natives that shall not be found to have quantities sufficient, as aforesaid, to have lands allotted them as freeholders, may by some chosen commissioners be placed as lessees for forty years, or three lives, or else upon the lands of natives and undertakers for reasonable rent, wherein we do authorize you to proceed as well for the settling them, as appointing them to see it done, as you in your discretions, with the advice aforesaid, shall think fit.

39. We do further here give unto you, with the advice aforesaid, power and authority to order and decide all questions of reputed mortgages, dowries, jointures, and leases, and all questions and controversies concerning the lands of undertakers or natives now made patentees; and do require you that the same may be decided before you, and in no other court, unless it be by direction from you as aforesaid.

40. No natives of the said counties now to be planted, to be admitted to pass any lands acquired from the other natives, since the finding of the great office, but to have allotments rateably according to their proper holding there found, unless such as have purchased *bona fide*, or attained thereto by descent, before the first

of

of April last, neither any claims to be allowed of any lands not possessed five years before the said general office and survey. And forasmuch as claim by patents not possessed, we leave them to your discretions to be dealt withal as you shall see cause.

41. And whereas we are informed that the territories of Ferrall are divided into three small baronies, which in all containeth about 48935 acres, all sorts of land, and that all the said territories is but one parish, with some small chapels thereunto belonging, and have considered thereof, and foreseeing much inconvenience thereof like to ensue to those inhabitants in the exercise of religion and otherwise; we have, in our princely wisdom rather thought fit, that all profits now reserved by the incumbent, and all glebes now to be assigned for better maintenance of the ministers, shall be divided into five parishes, and given to five ministers, for the better assembling severally in so spacious a country, and to make the same into five parishes and congregations, wherein we require you to take the advice and assistance of the bishops in whose diocess the said lands do lie; all which we require you to see performed by legal advice, unless you and your said bishops shall, upon important cause, make more or fewer parishes thereof, which in that case we do hereby allow of.

42. The like to be holden for the territories of Irigan, which containeth about 27285 acres,

and hath but one parish church, which may, in manner aforesaid, be divided into three several parishes, unless you and our said bishops shall find good cause to make the same into more or less number of parishes, which we also allow of.

43. And we are pleased out of the lands both in Leitrim and the other territories, to reserve fines, after the rate of 100*l.* for every 1000 acres, to be paid in this manner. The several undertakers of lands in the smaller territories, are to pay the one moiety of their said fines at the sealing of their patents; and the other moiety within half a year after, into the hands of our vice-treasurer, to be disposed of as we shall appoint. And the undertakers in the county of Leitrim are to make payment of their fines, at such days and times within the space of five years, as to you shall seem good; the said fines in Leitrim to be wholly employed for the walling of a corporate town within the said county of Leitrim, as you shall best devise for the strength of the country, and the comfort of the inhabitants there residing, and to be planted; for the better performance of which work in a good and orderly manner, as likewise for the making of some such towns in the other territories, we are pleased, that in the proceeding in this plantation, you shall seriously treat with the natives of all the said places, or use any other good means you can, to cause reasonable levy of money to be made amongst them, in a convenient time appointed by you, to be expended about the said walls of the said intended towns.

44. In

44. In respect of the several recommendations that we have received both from thence and the lords of our council here, of Sir Jasper Harbert, knight, and Nicholas Harbert, Esq; we are pleased that you shall grant unto them, as natives, all such lands as were found for them by general office, and survey taken before the lord Chichester, without diminution, if the conveniency of the plantation will permit, or otherwise so much lands of the same quantities and goodness in some other places over and above such portions as are appointed for him in our assignment, as undertakers of our special grace.

45. The like favour we are pleased to extend to the lord of Delvin, for such lands as are by the said office found for him.

46. Whereas lieutenant Walter Harrison doth hold by letters patent from us, either in fee-farm or for years, certain parcels as well of abbey as temporal lands, whereupon our fort was sometimes planted for our service, and now discontinued; we are pleased to regrant such part of the said lands unto him as he held in the fee-farm, at the rents formerly answered for the same, and the residue also in fee-farm to him and his heirs also, at the rent reserved upon undertakers, over and above the proportion assigned unto him as an undertaker.

47. And whereas Patrick Hussey of Galtrim, in our county of Westmeath, Esq; hath by his petition complained unto us, that he hath an-

cient title to divers lands lately planted by us in Elyocarrall, and craveth relief; which title, although we conceive can hardly be a legal interest in him, the land having been many years since taken from his ancestors, as he alledgeth, by the Irish enemies, and since recovered by our forces, though by sufferance continued in sept of some of those Irish, yet because he is descended of the ancient planted English, whom we desire to encourage in all things where any cause of theirs comes before us, and because we desire to free our subjects, newly planted, from all doubts or questions, we require you with the advice aforesaid, to look into the quantities of the small proportions of the late pretended freeholds, not now within the rule to be made freeholders in these plantations, and as well out of those small proportions as otherwise howsoever, you shall find means, not contrary to our royal intentions towards our natives here declared, to set out such proportion as you may conveniently spare, and to grant the same to the said Patrick, or such other as he shall name unto you, his or their heirs and assigns, at such rent as other natives do pay, and thereupon to take his surrender of all his interest or claim to the said lands in Elyocarrall, or any our now plantations.

48. Whereas we have in our distribution of the lands now to be planted, assigned to the lord Bellfore 2500 acres, in recompence of lands in Scotland surrendered by him into our hands, to be disposed of by us, we are pleased in regard of

of the ſaid exchange, that he ſhould have the lands now allotted unto him without fine, and for ſuch rent and tenures, and upon ſuch other conditions and covenants as are mentioned in our letters written unto you in that behalf and not otherwiſe, notwithſtanding any general directions or inſtructions to the contrary.

49. And whereas Sir James Blunt, knight, is to have to himſelf or ſuch perſon as he ſhall name by our ſaid aſſignment, 600 acres of the ſaid lands for which he hath made offer to ſurrender into our hands a penſion of one hundred pounds Iriſh, granted unto him during his life; our pleaſure is, that in regard of the ſaid penſion ſo to be ſurrendered by him, the ſaid lands appointed for him ſhould be diſcharged of fines, but be liable to the rent of other undertakers, and the covenants and conditions of the natives.

50. And whereas we are made acquainted that divers of the Scottiſh nation to whom we have aſſigned ſeveral proportions of land, both in this now in hand, and in the late plantation of Longford and Elyocarrall, are not free denizens of that kingdom, and thereby uncapable of ſuch lands as are appointed for them; our will and pleaſure is, that in every man's grant to be paſſed unto him of any land, as well in this plantation as in the other of Elyocarrall, you ſhall make them denizens of that our kingdom of Ireland, as was done in the grant of Ulſter, they paying the fees accuſtomed to the lord chancellor. Dated at Theobalds, this 2d of October, 1620.

THE names of the undertakers appointed for Leytrim and the King's county.

In Leitrim, 3974 In Macoghlins 1026	Sir Oliver St. John, knight,	5000
Leitrim,	Lord Maxwell,	5000
Leitrim and Ballecowen,	Lord Bellfore,	2500
Leitrim,	Sir William Erwin,	1500
Ferrall 1000 & 500,	Sir Peter Saltenſtale,	1500
Carricaſtle 1000 & 500	Sir Tho. Rotherham,	1500
Leitrim,	Maxwell,	1500
———	Sir Frederick Hamilton,	1500
———	Capt. Hen. Forteſcue,	1500
Odoine,	Theo. Lo. Bourke, of Brittas	1000
K. 2. and	Lord Donſaney,	1000
Leitrim,	Sir James Creigh,	1000
———	James Creighton,	1000
———	John Waldron,	1000
———	Sir Wm. Parſons,	800
Ferral,	Sir Jaſper Harbert,	700
Leitrim,	Capt. Nicholas Pynnar,	700
	Sir Thomas Dutton,	600
Leitrim,	Sir John King,	600
Odoine,	Sir Robert Loftus,	600
Ferral,	Sir James Blunt,	600
Leitrim,	Capt. Hugh Done,	600
Ferrall,	Nicholas Harbert,	600
Leitrim,	James Ratry,	600

Leitrim,

Leitrim,	Fenton Parſons,	600
Odoine,	Giles Rawlins,	600
Kilcourſey	Capt. St. John,	600
Cargallen	Henry Reynolds,	600
Leitrim,	Henry Crofton,	600
Odoine,	Sir Robert Pygot,	500
Ballecowen,	Sir Francis Blundel,	500
Carricaſtle,	Capt. Arthur Blundel,	500
Leitrim,	Capt. Peter Lartein,	500
———	Capt. William Meares,	500
———	Capt. Arthur Forbes,	500
Balleboy,	Sampſon Tibballs,	500
Ballecowen,	Robert Braithwayt,	500
Leitrim,	William Nesbitt,	500
Odoine,	Robert Kennedy,	400
Ferrall,	William Tiffen,	400
Leitrim,	Humphry Allen,	400
———	William Barber,	400
———	Patrick Stewart,	400
O'McLaughlin,	Garrett White,	400
Leitrim,	Henry Kenny,	300
Carricaſtle,	Thomas Preſcott,	200
Leitrim,	Lieutenant Walter Harriſon,	200
	Total	43500

To

To these men, their heirs and assigns, we do require you, our deputy, with the advice of our council, to pass the several proportions of land as we have assigned them, observing our instructions herewith sent unto you, which land do make together 43500 acres.

The remain of the grand sum being 5000 acres, or thereabouts, we do authorize you, our deputy, with the advice aforesaid, to dispose of in fee-farm to such servitors there, and their heirs, as you know to be best deserving and will reside in those countries: provided that you dispose of the said land to sixteen men, whereof three are to have proportions of four hundred acres, seven of three hundred acres, and six of two hundred acres, or thereabouts, according to your discretion.

Francis Cane,	300
Thomas Web,	400 secured.
Maurice St. John	200 secured.
To be served.	
Done,	600
Dutton,	600
Waldron	1000

THE

THE lord deputy, his 5000 acres given to servitors in Leitrim.

Leitrim,	Sir William Windsor,	300
———	Capt. St. George,	400
———	Lieutenant During,	300
———	Lieutenant Sydnoy,	200
———	Cornet Taylor,	200
———	Ensign Henry Smyth,	200
———	Daniel Barnes,	200
———	Cornet Grime,	200
———	Walter Mc Cann,	200
———	Sir Maurice Griffith,	400
———	———Catwright,	200
———	Lieutenant Blayner,	200
———	Lieutenant Blaney,	200

These are appointed by the lord deputy to be in the King's county.

Macogh.	The Deputy,	1000
Ballecowen,	Sir Francis Blundall	1500
Irregan,	Lord Dunsany,	1000
Irregan Ferrall,	Lord Bourké,	1000
Coghlan,	Sir Thomas Rotheram,	1000
Macoghlan,	Sir Peter Saltensale,	1000
Ferrall,	Sir Jasper Harbert, and Nicholas Harbert,	1300
Macogh,	Capt. Webb,	400
———	Capt. Blundall,	500

Macogh,

Macogh,	Lieutenant Prescott,	200
Ferrall,	Francis Cane,	300
Maloghlan,	Capt. Williams,	300
Irrogan,	Capt. Nelson.	300
Malaghlin,	Mr. Walter Whyte,	300
Fox,	Capt. St. John,	600
——	Maurice St. John,	200
Irregan,	Sir Robert Loftus,	600
Ferral,	Capt. Ferril,	600
Irogan,	Mr. Rawlins,	600
——	Mr. Tibboles,	500
Ballewnen,	Mr. Brythwayt,	500

Glebes.

Glebes.

25	$1\frac{1}{2}$	4000	240
50	3	5000	300
100		6000	260
25	$1\frac{1}{2}$	7000	420
50	3	8000	480
100	6	9000	540
125	$7\frac{1}{2}$	10000	600
250	15	20000	1200
500	30	30000	1800
1000	60	60000	360
2000	120	70000	4200
3000	180		
74729	4483 Glib.		

Patt.	919
Gli.	4883
Sch.	400
	34921
Total	41123

The

The heads of the causes which moved the northern Irish, and catholicks of Ireland, to take arms. *Anno* 1641.

1. IT was plotted and resolved by the Puritans of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to extinguish quite the catholick religion, and the professors and maintainers thereof, out of all those kingdoms; and to put all catholicks of this realm to the sword, that would not conform themselves to the protestant religion.

2. THE state of Ireland did publickly declare, that they would root out of this realm all the natives, and make a total second conquest of the land, alledging, that they were not safe with them.

3. ALL the natives here were deprived of the benefit of the ancient fundamental laws, liberties, and privileges, due by all laws and justice to a free people and nation, and more particularly due by the municipal laws of Ireland.

4. THAT the subjects of Ireland, especially the Irish, were thrust out forceably from their ancient possessions, against law, without colour or right; and could not have propriety or security in their estates, goods, or other rights, but were wholly subject to an arbitrary power, and tyrannical government, these forty years past, without hope of relief or redress.

5. THEIR

5. THEIR native youth here, debarred by the practice of ſtate, from all learning and education, in that the one only univerſity here, excludes all catholicks thence; neither are they ſuffered to acquire learning or breeding beyond ſeas, of purpoſe to make them rude and ignorant of all letters.

6. THE catholicks of this realm are not admitted to any dignity, place, or office, either military or civil, ſpiritual or temporal, but the ſame conferred upon unworthy perſons, and men of no quality, who purchaſe it for money, or favour, and not by merit.

7. ALL the trading, traffick, ſhipping, and riches of this whole iſle, by the corruption of the ſtate, are engroſſed by the Dutch, Scottiſh, and Engliſh, not reſiding here, who exclude the natives wholly from the ſame; and who return the product, and all their ſtock and coin back unto their native countries.

8. ALL the ſtaple and rich commodities of the realm are turned to monopolies, and heavy impoſitions againſt law laid on all merchandize.

9. THE principal native wares of the land exported into foreign parts, unwrought and unmanufactured, thereby depriving the kingdom of all manual trades and oecupations; and driving the natives to furniſh themſelves from head to foot, with manufactures from abroad, at very dear rates.

10. ALL

10. All their heavy and insufferable pressures prosecuted and laboured by the natives of this kingdom, with much suit, expence, and importunity, both in parliament here, and in England before his majesty, to be redressed, yet could never be brought to any happy conclusion, or as much as hope of contentment, but always eluded with delays.

11. Common justice, and the rights and privilege of parliament, denied to all the natives of the realm; and the antient course of parliamentary proceeding wholly declined.

12. His majesty's royal power, honour, prerogative, estate, revenue, and rights, invaded upon, by the puritan faction in England.

13. The government of all his realms, his queen, children, and family, usurped by the parliament of England, and especially by the house of commons; as likewise, the nominating and disposing of his privy council, judges, clergy, officers, navy, forts and castles, arrogated by the said house of commons, leaving his highness nothing, but the bare name of a king.

14. The many affronts and wrongs done by the said house, to the ambassadors of foreign princes, confederates of his majesty, residing in England, and to their chaplains and servants, against the conditions of their league, and the law of nations.

15. The gross injuries and scandal given by the said house of commons, to the queen's majesty,

jesty, and her chaplains and servants, in breach of the articles made upon her marriage.

16. The many horrid murders, robberies, pillages, waste, burnings, and other execrable cruelties, perpetrated of late by the protestant armies here, by publick direction of the state of this realm, upon his majesty's good subjects of the English pale, and other parts of this land, they not offending against the laws or peace of the realm, but merely standing upon their own defence; and this done them against his majesty's pleasure, and without his privity.

17. All the natives in the English plantations of this realm, were disarmed by proclamation, and the protestant plantators armed, and tied by the conditions of their plantations, to have arms, and to keep certain numbers of horse and foot continually upon their lands, by which advantage, many thousands of the natives were expulsed out of their possessions, and as many hanged by martial law, without cause, and against the laws of this realm; and many of them otherwise destroyed, and made away, by sinister means and practices.

18. Half this realm was found to belong unto his majesty, as his ancient demesne and inheritance, upon old feigned titles of three hundred years past, by juries, against law, their evidence and conscience, who were corrupted to find the said titles, upon promise of part of those lands so found for the king, or other reward, or else were drawn thereunto by threats of the judges

in the circuits, or by heavy fines, mulcts, and cenſures of pillory, ſtigmatizings, and other like cruel and unuſual puniſhments.

To the king's moſt excellent majeſty.

The humble remonſtrance of the northern catholicks of Ireland, now in arms.

[N. B. *This remonſtrance is quite different from that delivered by the nobility and gentry of the pale, to the king's commiſſioners at Trim. Anno* 1641.]

Moſt gracious and dread ſovereign,

WE your moſt humble and faithful ſubjects, the catholicks of this your kingdom of Ireland, do, in all humbleneſs, repreſent unto your moſt ſacred majeſty, by this our humble remonſtrance, our heavy preſſures and juſt grievances, which have enforced us to take arms for our relief and defence, having tried all others means for the redreſs of our many ſufferings, in a civil way, by the ordinary courſe of juſtice.

1. WE have taken ſpecial knowledge, to our extreme ſorrow, how your moſt excellent majeſty hath been deprived in England of the principal flowers of your regal power in parliament, and otherwiſe; and of the beſt part of your revenues, in your cuſtoms, and other caſual duties;

ties; and have been forced to disband your late armies raised in England and Ireland, for your necessary defence, against the insolent attempts of the puritan faction in England and Scotland; by means whereof, your highness is reduced to that weak condition, as without their assistance, you can neither levy forces by land or sea, for the defence of your crown and kingdom, nor support the state and ordinary charge answerable to the dignity of so great a prince.

2. We find by this miscarriage and practice of the puritan party, divers whereof, and those of the principal leading-men, are lately most justly impeached of high-treason, for the premisses and other crimes. That your highness being of the best of princes in disposition, wisdom, and virtue, they have forced out of your hands by violence, the reins, not only of the publick government of all your kingdoms, your navy, your forts, and castles, your estate and revenue, the choosing of your counsellors of state, and officers, arrogating to themselves, contrary to the ancient practice of former parliaments, an absolute regal power, without warrant of law or prescription, over the publick government of all your kingdoms, both ecclesiastical and temporal, civil and military, without your majesty's allowance or consent, but likewise the ordering and disposing of your private family, and government of your queen and children, leaving nothing to your highness, but the bare stile and name of a king, aiming thereby,

at the total ſubverſion of monarchy, and bringing in its place an Oligarchy, or popular government, the common abortive iſſue, and fruits of puritaniſm; and to continue that their uſurped power with more ſway and freedom, they have by all agreement, and the decree of both houſes of parliament, taken away the votes and voices of biſhops out of parliament, they being ſuperiors, in point of judicature, to the temporal lords and commons, and who cannot be excluded from their tribunals by any law or precedent; and this is perpetrated by the ſaid houſes, againſt your majeſty's will and pleaſure: and the ſaid houſes do labour all they can, to root out of the church of England all biſhops, and other dignitaries eccleſiaſtical, and in a word to extinguiſh quite the whole hierarchy of the church, and to erect, in place thereof, a preſbyterial miniſtry, or rather an anarchy in the church, contrary to the fundamental laws, not only of your majeſty's realm of England, but of all the chriſtian kingdoms of Europe. And likewiſe, the ſaid houſes of parliament, eſpecially the houſe of commons in England, have uſed all the means they could, to breed a diſcord and enmity between your majeſty and your neighbouring catholick princes (who are in league with your majeſty) by giving publick affronts to their ambaſſadors reſiding in England, intercepting their letters, arreſting the perſons of their chaplains and ſervants, ſpeaking ſlanderouſly, and permitting ſcandalous pamphlets to be divulged

vulged in print there, to the much dishonour of the embassadors and their princes; by this their foul practice, endeavouring to deprive your majesty of all foreign help and succour, which usually is afforded to princes in their distress and necessities, by their confederates.

3. We cannot but resent the late injuries done to your highness's most royal consort, our queen, who by the puritans is defeated in the chief parts of the benefit of the articles, concluded upon your marriage, between your majesty, and the most christian king her brother, being liberty of her conscience and religion, for herself and family, and free access to her chapel, and other insufferable gross affronts and injuries done to her person and honour; and that her servants are not allowed the privilege and liberty due to their goods and persons by all laws.

4. Neither can we in any way admit the power and jurisdiction that the now parliament of England doth assume over the parliament, and whole kingdom of Ireland, which daily they execute against our parliament in particular, and divers members of our kingdom; and do endeavour to justify that their usurped power by several printed pamphlets, against whose power and arrogancy we absolutely protest, as having no dependency of them, or any other, but only of your majesty; and we are confident we should receive (were we subordinate to them) the like, if not far worse measure of cruelty and

tyranny, than they now practſie and exercise against the native catholicks of their own realm.

5. We cannot but passionately condole the present condition, and lamentable state of the catholicks of England and Scotland, unto which they are reduced by the cruel laws and late rigorous proceedings in parliament against them.

6. We more specially declare before all the world, our detestation and aversenes against that uncharitable publick protestation and oath made by the house of commons of the parliament in England, for the utter extirpation and destruction of the catholick religion, and professors or maintainers thereof, without limitation of time or place, or exception of any, not of the catholick princes in league with your majesty. Which protestation and oath, they caused solemnly to be taken by all the commonalty of England, in every parish church, at the time of their service.

7. There was a petition framed by the puritans of this kingdom of Ireland, subscribed by the hands of many hundreds of them, and preferred to the said house of commons of the now parliament in England, for suppressing our religion, and us the professors thereof, residing within this kingdom of Ireland, which as we are credibly informed, was condescended unto by both houses of parliament there, and undertaken to be accomplished to their full desires, and that without the privity or allowance of your majesty.

8. Neither

8. NEITHER muſt we pretermit with ſilence the many ſcandalous and ſeditious pamphlets, lately publiſhed in print in England, againſt the catholick religion, by the connivance, if not approbation of the ſaid houſe of commons there; and that one in particular, which affirmeth, that no papiſts can be loyal to their ſovereign, though he be of the Roman catholick religion, much leſs to princes differing from them in profeſſion; where in truth, no religion or profeſſion whatſoever, doth bind men to their allegiance to their kings, more than the catholick religion, which we profeſs and maintain; in confirmation whereof, we have lately made here a ſolemn proteſtation, which importeth far more juſtice, faith, and moderation, than that of our adverſaries, including, among other things, a band and tie upon us, for the ſpecial defence of your majeſty's moſt royal perſon, crown, dignity, prerogative, and rights, and this proteſtation we will cauſe all men of our party, by ſolemn oath to take.

9. YOUR majeſty may be pleaſed, for your better information, to be advertiſed, that though we the catholicks of your kingdom of Ireland, are not in danger, by the laws of the realm, to be deprived of our goods and eſtates; yet, in all the reign of your majeſty, and of your late royal father king James, we have ſuffered much in our means and fortunes, by reaſon of our religion; and we have been debarred in all that ſpace, by colour of that our profeſſion, of all countenance, advancement, and employment,

in the commonwealth, notwithstanding, that we have given as many clear expressions of our desire and willingness to serve your highness, and of our faith and loyalty to your majesty, and your crown, as any other of your best subjects; and that we could not enjoy, during that time, that free exercise of our religion, which we conceived our merit and truth did deserve.

10. We cannot dissemble the late covenant and protestation made in Scotland, together with their severe laws, and other proceedings against catholicks; and in particular, their intention and late publick suit to your majesty, for sending forthwith an army of Scots into this kingdom of Ireland, to reduce us to their religion, in three months space; otherwise, by force, to dispossess us of all our means, fortunes, and livelihood.

11. When first we your highness's subjects of Ulster here took arms, being intended for the safeguard of your majesty, your just prerogatives and rights, and for our defence against the foreign invasions threatened from Scotland, we presented to your majesty's justices of this kingdom, a remonstrance of some of our grievances, to be considered and redressed by parliament here, which was shortly after to sit, where we doubted not such a fit course would be taken, as should give us content, secure the kingdom, and take away the occasion of our taking arms: yet your justices, on first notice of our taking arms, to prevent this so general a good, prorogued our parliament

parliament by proclamation, by advice of our judges of this realm; which prorogation, though void in law, causes most of the parliament members, whose residence was remote from Dublin, not to attend the sitting of parliament, not knowing, but the prorogation was valid in law. And yet did your justices cause such of the parliament as resided in and about Dublin, who were, for the most part, of their own faction and dependance, to sit in parliament; and after two days, prorogued it by commission, directed to others, contrary to law: during which sitting, by the earnest procurement of your majesty's justices, and state here, they protested and declared, that we your said subjects of Ulster, being ill-affected to the peace and tranquility of this your highness's realm, contrary to our duty and loyalty to your majesty, and against the laws of God, and the fundamental laws of this realm, have traiterously and rebelliously raised arms; and your justices, not satisfied with this protestation, have, by divers late proclamations, published here in print, declared us rebels and traitors, and procured, by misinformation, both houses of parliament in England, to make the like odious declaration against us, which your justices caused to be divulged, in print; throughout this kingdom, thereby endeavouring to incense your majesty and your people against us.

12. Against which declarations, we, for our justification, do protest and affirm, that we have taken

taken arms, as well for the vindication of your majesty's honour, and the restoration of your regal power and just rights, as likewise, for the restitution of our liberties, and for our necessary defence and safety.

13. YOUR majesty's total revenues here, as likewise, all the wealth of your subjects of this land, is wholly come to the purses of your officers of state, in this kingdom, and their adherents, by unjust means, upon some pretence or other, and nothing is answered to your highness thereout.

14. WE your highness's subjects, the distressed catholicks of Ireland, cannot, but with much grief, express our sense of our general sufferings and pressures within this realm, since the beginning of your majesty's late royal father's reign, being almost forty years, and the only time of continued peace we enjoyed these later ages; in all which time, through the corruption of the governors and state of this realm, though, for redress of our grievances, often suit hath been made by us; yet, therein, could we never obtain any part of our desires, but rather have endured a continual servitude, than the freedom of subjects, being not permitted, in all this space, to enjoy our birth-right, or the benefit of the fundamental laws of this realm, they being the very same that are in England, nor admitted to have property in our goods or lands; for that a tyrannical government hath been continually exercised over us all this time, in more strict

and

and cruel manner, than in Turkey, or any other infidel country; though, by the ancient fundamental laws of the realm, no subjects in Europe can challenge more freedom or liberty.

15. We, among others here, did, in the beginning of the now parliament assembled in this land, make suit unto your royal majesty, by a select committee of both houses thereof, for redress of several general grievances, wherewith this kingdom was oppressed; whereunto your majesty was persuaded by your privy council, and parliament of England, by the misinformation and earnest solicitation of your justices and council here, to give denial in the principal parts thereof, and the benefit of the rest of them (though yielded unto us by your majesty) was, and is yet deferred by your chief governors and state here of Ireland, and our parliament of purpose prorogued by them, thereby to deprive your highness's subjects of this kingdom of Ireland, of the benefit of your gracious intentions in the premisses.

16. The youth of this kingdom, especially of us catholicks, is debarred from education and learning, in that no school-master of our religion is admitted to teach, nor any admitted to be bred beyond seas; and the one only university of Ireland, doth exclude all catholicks, thereby to make us utterly ignorant of literature and civil breeding, which always followeth learning and arts, insomuch, that we may boldly affirm,

we

we are the most miserable and most unhappy nation of the christian world.

17. We hold ourselves likewise most unfortunate, in that we are not admitted to any office, or place of honour, advancement or profit, either military or civil within this isle, we being as capable and fit for the same as any other nation: and that all places here are conferred upon obscure persons of no merit, worth, or estate, but upon men of mean condition and quality, who purchase the same from your governors here, by favour or money.

18. We are much moved and grieved, that the judges and other persons lately impeached of treason and other crimes here, by both houses of parliament of this kingdom, who were and are still the principal instruments and causes of most of our oppressions, are not only taken from the hand of justice, by the practice of the council and parliament of England, drawn thereto by the misinformation of your justices and council of this realm, who pretend our parliament here to want power of judicature therein; but furthermore do sit in your tribunals of justice, and at your council-board of this kingdom, and do guide and direct the whole state and government here; and they being incensed by that their impeachment, do practise all the mischief their malice can invent by way of revenge on our kingdom and nation, and especially on us catholicks, whom they alledge to have been the procurers and authors of their impeachment.

19. We

19. We cannot but with much ſorrow repreſent to your royal majeſty, how that the natives in the province of Ulſter, and other the late plantations made by the Engliſh here, were by force expelled out of their native ſeats and ancient poſſeſſions, without juſt grounds; and many of the principal gentlemen who ſerved the crown in the wars of queen Elizabeth, and were the principal means of the overthrow of the late earl of Tyrone and his adherents, were for their ſervice bereaved likewiſe of their whole eſtates, and confined to perpetual impriſonment in the Tower of London; and that all the natives, as well in Ulſter as in other the planted territories in this land, were by publick direction of your ſtate here diſarmed, of purpoſe to expoſe them to the maſſacre of the proteſtant plantators their adverſaries, who were furniſhed with arms, and were tied by the condition of that their plantation, to maintain always armed men on their lands; and upon that advantage deſtroyed many thouſands of them by martial law, without any colour of juſtice; and likewiſe by falſe verdicts of proteſtant juries, who were drawn thereunto, either by corruption of the ſtate here, and chiefly of Sir William Parſons, one of your majeſty's juſtices of this realm, upon promiſe of giving the ſaid juries part of thoſe lands for which they were to give their verdict on your majeſty's behalf, or ſome other reward; or elſe by the violent preſſing and threats of your judges here in their circuits, or by heavy fines, mulcts, and cenſures of pillory, ſtigmatizings, and other like cruel and unuſual puniſhments. 20. Though

20. THOUGH this kingdom yields a considerable yearly revenue to your crown, yet the same is wholly exhausted in the pay of your armies and entertainment of your officers of state here, and other the ordinary charge of this realm; and your majesty was withal, before these troubles, and is still indebted, over and above that your revenue, in a very great sum to your army and officers of this land, notwithstanding that by the late subsidies given to your majesty here, benevolences, excessive fines, monopolies, and other extraordinary casualties raised within this land by the late earl of Strafford and your state of this kingdom, very large sums of money, in all probability exceeding a million of pounds, hath been brought to your majesty's coffers, whereof no account hath been had hitherto, though the same was sought and pressed for by the parliament here, and without doubt the greatest part thereof was never really disbursed in your majesty's service, and therefore ought strictly to be accounted for, and satisfaction given therein by the parties trusted therewith.

21. THAT though this isle doth abound with more native merchantable commodities, and export to other extern countries, a larger proportion thereof yearly, than any one of your majesty's dominions, and commonly double as much as it doth import hither from foreign parts, which, in all presumption, ought to make it exceed in wealth; yet is it in that deplorable state at this present, that our nobility and gentry are not able

to

to ſupport their calling, nor ſcarce ſubſiſt: and ſuch is the general ſcarcity of money throughout this land, that tenants cannot pay eaſy rents, nor creditors be ſatisfied of any part of their debts; all trade and traffick within this land quite deſtroyed, and the kingdom reduced to a more deplorable eſtate than ever it was in man's memory, which hath its offspring chiefly from theſe heads.

22. The private engroſſing into a few hands, namely, the officers of ſtate here and their followers and adherents, all the ready coin of this kingdom, and the tranſportation of great quantities of treaſure from hence into England by the late earl of Strafford, Sir George Radcliffe, and others, and now very lately by Sir William Parſons, one of your majeſty's juſtices of this kingdom, and divers others by his example.

23. The monopolizing of ſeveral particular merchandizes, and the reſtraint from exporting out of the land of ſundry native commodities, without paying exceſſive ſums of money for licence of exportation. The immoderate raiſing of the book of rates, heavy impoſitions laid upon merchandizes againſt law; the fiſhing, trading, traffick, and ſhipping of this iſle wholly taken out of the natives hands, and uſurped totally by the Dutch, Engliſh and Scots, not reſiding within the land, and all manufactures brought thither from abroad, wherewith we are furniſhed from head to foot, the exporting of all the ſtaple and principal native commodities of this realm unto foreign parts unwrought and unma-

unmanufactured, thereby hindering all manual occupations within the land.

24. LASTLY, the late indenizing and naturalizing of divers Dutchmen, procured by corruption and favour of your officers here, who having the purse of Amsterdam, engross the whole trade of the best part of this kingdom to themselves, over-buying and under-selling all the native merchants of this land in all markets, and returning all the product and stock of their merchandize with all the ready coin to Holland, by which indenizations your majesty is deprived of a fourth part of your customs, and of a double subsidy due by law upon all strangers, which is of great consequence and value, considering their frequent commerce and trading here.

25. YOUR majesty's justices have prorogued our parliament here, both now and divers times heretofore, against the will and consent of both houses at their full assembly, and without your majesty's special direction, purposely thereby to take from your subjects of this realm all relief and redress of their grievances by parliament, and to free themselves and others of your privy council here, their friends and adherents, from answering to the just complaints of such of your good subjects as have been oppressed by them, as may be instanced in this ensuing particular.

26. A petition being preferred in parliament lately against the said Sir William Parsons, by the inhabitants of the Birne's country in the county of Wicklow, which petition discovered his cozenage, and gross miscarriage in packing of

of juries, and other practices, for finding your highness's title to that territory, a great part whereof was to come to himself by these sinister means; and to prevent his conviction and censure in that high court for this his crime, did, before the now troubles here, resolve to prorogue the parliament, though he had special direction from your majesty, by your royal letters, to continue the sitting of the parliament, for passing of such beneficial laws and graces by parliament, as were by your majesty then transmitted hither under your great seal of England.

27. The said Sir William Parsons hath been a mean to supplant out of their ancient possessions and inheritances many of the inhabitants of this realm, though of your best subjects, and servitors to the crown, upon old feigned titles of three hundred years past, and he thereupon procured the disposing of their lands by way of plantation; but he having the survey and measuring thereof, did most partially and corruptly survey the same, making the best land waste and unprofitable in his survey, and in the admeasurement did reduce more than the half of these plantations to fractions under an hundred acres, being of far greater measure; of which fractions the natives, antient possessors thereof, were wholly defeated, and your majesty not answered thereout any rent or other consideration, but the same wholly disposed of by the said Parsons at his pleasure, for his private lucre and advantage, which ought to be strictly examined; and did plot in the earl of Stafford's govern-

ment to supplant all the old Irish in all places of this kingdom; and forced by the assistance of the said earl and the judges, impeached here of treason, by heavy mulcts and censures, juries to find those unjust titles against their conscience and evidence, and against the fundamental laws of this realm, which ought not to escape unpunished: and by these compulsatory and illegal ways, your majesty was found by late inquisitions to be intitled to the province of Conaught, and to the counties of Clare and Wicklow, and to the best part of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick; and thereupon the same were to be wholly planted by such as the late earl of Strafford and the said Parsons should think fit, intending thereby to root out of those parts all the natives and ancient inhabitants.

28. The earl of Strafford by extrajudicial proceedings against law, and by advice and assistance of the judges and others impeached here of treason, did avoid mens patents and other legal assurances, dispossessing them withal of their lands and goods, and imprisoning their persons, and thereby did impoverish most part of the kingdom; and by those unjust ways brought above thirty thousand pounds *per annum* of lands and tithes to the clergy here, and as much more to himself, his followers and adherents.

29. That contrary to the ancient practice, use, and privilege of parliaments, and to the tenor of divers statute laws of this realm, the governors and state of this kingdom procured their

their own followers and dependants, who had no estate nor settled residence within this land, to be unduly elected and returned to parliament here, as lawful members, and thereby exceeding in votes the legal members thereof, have caused divers pernicious and bloody statutes and laws to be enacted in this kingdom, and others of no less danger and malice to be transmitted into England to pass here for laws, with intention to work the final destruction of our nation. Many likewise complaints have been preferred in parliament against sundry of your officers of state here, their clerks and dependants, for exorbitant corruptions, extortions in fees, and otherwise, with other grievous oppressions; and yet by the factious party of the said officers in both houses of parliament here, no redress in the same can be obtained, though prosecuted with much diligence, care, and importunity by the parties grieved: and now very lately your said justices, to prevent the redress of your subjects said grievances, and their own censures and punishments, caused the parliament, which was prorogued by proclamation to the eleventh of January 1641, to be again prorogued by proclamation to the fifteenth of June next, ; which prorogation being void in law by discontinuance, dissolves the parliament absolutely.

30. These and many other intolerable sufferings and grievances have been the only motives which enforced us to take arms: and we do protest

teſt unto your ſacred majeſty before heaven and earth, that we, the catholicks of this your realm, are of your beſt and loyaleſt ſubjects, and will with the expence of our eſtates and lives, give full teſtimony thereof upon all overtures, and uſe thoſe our arms which now we bear for our own defence, and our uttermoſt endeavours for the maintenance and preſervation of your royal perſon, your crown, dignity, and juſt rights, againſt all the oppoſers thereof.

31. Now foraſmuch as we the catholicks of this your realm of Ireland are for rank, quality, eſtate, fortunes, and number, by far the moſt conſiderable part of the land, and cannot with ſafety lay down our arms, before we receive an aſſurance of redreſs in theſe our juſt grievances and ſufferings, and ſecurity of our lives and eſtates, againſt the cruel and horrid deſigns of thoſe bloody Puritan aſſaſſinates, the publick and profeſſed enemies of us and our religion; and for that the keeping together of theſe our armed bands and troops for our neceſſary ſafeguard for any length of time, will draw much charge and prejudice both upon your majeſty and this your whole kingdom, and may endanger the ruin and deſtruction of many of your liege people: for prevention whereof, and for avoiding the effuſion of more chriſtian blood, we are humble ſuitors unto your moſt pious and clement majeſty, that you will vouchſafe to apply a ſovereign and preſent remedy and cure to theſe our violent maladies,

ladies, and give ſuch ſpeedy redreſs to our juſt grievances, as ſhall be ſuitable to the juſtice, piety, and greatneſs of ſo merciful, juſt, and potent a prince, and ſuch as ſhall be anſwerable to the expectation of us, and all other your good ſubjects of this realm, in ſuch manner as the wiſdom of your parliament here in their full aſſembly, being reſtored to their full power, juriſdiction, and freedom, ſhall think meet and expedient.

And our further requeſt is, that for our more ſatisfaction, your highneſs will be pleaſed to deign your particular anſwer in writing to every peculiar head and article of this our remonſtrance, and therein give that clear teſtimony to all the world of your ſenſe of theſe our preſſures and afflictions, and of your reſolution to redreſs them to our juſt deſires and contentment, that future ages for the ſame may reverence and celebrate your memory, all chriſtian princes have cauſe to applaud your juſtice, and follow you as a precedent; and we your highneſs's ſubjects of this iſle to pray inceſſantly to the Omnipotent, that you and your poſterity may reign long in proſperity and glory over us.

TO the King's most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humbly apology of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and other inhabitants of the English pale of Ireland, for taking arms.

WE the lords, knights, gentlemen, and inhabitants before mentioned, do think it our parts and duty to manifest unto your most sacred majesty the causes and motives of our now rising in arms.

1. YOUR most clement highness may be graciously pleased to understand, that when the now distempers of this land began in your province of Ulster here, we humbly petitioned your majesty's justices of this kingdom to afford us some arms out of your highness's store at Dublin, where there was sufficient provision for the arraying of more than twenty thousand men, and we being furnished therewith in competent manner, did then undertake to appease the present troubles with little expence to your majesty; which request of ours was by your justices not only rejected, as distrusting our loyalty confirmed by many descents and the blood of our ancestors shed in abundance in former ages for the defence of the crown of England; but we were likewise denied arms for the necessary defence of our houses and persons, exposing us to the mercy of those of Ulster, that were then in

in arms; only some few arms were given at that time by your justices of this realm, to some counties of the English pale, which being not considerable nor sufficient to defend those counties, was rather a mean to make them a prey to the army then of Ulster, than any way a safeguard to defend them; and divers of the said counties gave up their arms to the said justices again, to prevent their surprisal by the Irish forces that were then too strong for them, and likewise to take off all suspicion of jealousy from themselves that might be cast upon them by your state here; yet at the same time of that our repulse, all the protestants of those parts had arms and weapons given them for their defence, and many of them, though of mean condition, were employed as commanders of the forces then raised by our state of this realm, for the suppressing of the present commotion in Ulster, and such of the English pale and old English of good quality, that were catholicks and of good rank and servitors, and some of them, though protestants, were not admitted to the same favour or like command, although they were earnest suitors for it, having proffered, in security for their loyalty, their eldest sons, or any other security or engagement the state here could reasonably demand: those catholicks of the said pale not knowing then the justness of the quarrel of the northern Irish, or that it did reach to the general defence and advantage of your majesty and your crown, and this your

whole kingdom, as ſince by their general remonſtrance of their grievances they have manifeſted.

2. SUNDRY then of the ſaid Engliſh pale made ſuit to your ſaid juſtices, to have ſome of your majeſty's forces to be garriſoned in towns within the ſaid pale, and to join their ſtrength with them for the better defence of thoſe parts, which their requeſt was utterly denied, by means whereof the ſaid pale was over-run and pillaged by the army of Ulſter, which at that time invaded thoſe quarters againſt the wills of the inhabitants of the ſaid pale; the forces then of Ulſter, being many thouſands of armed men, did by ſtrong hand paſs through the counties of the pale to the town of Drogheda, and laid ſiege to it, and did compel, by their army, the next adjoining counties to ſupply them with victuals and other proviſions, and alſo to join with them: which miſchief to us was permitted by your juſtices and ſtate to deſtroy us here of ſet purpoſe, hoping thereby that we might incur the forfeiture of our eſtates by that our uniting to the northern forces, or loſs of our lives and all our preſent livelyhood if we did oppoſe them, we being deſtitute of weapons to defend ourſelves.

3. AND your majeſty may be likewiſe pleaſed to be informed, that your juſtices, the judges, and other perſons impeached of treaſon and other crimes by both houſes of parliament here, to ſtop and hinder the proceeding againſt them

them in parliament for their offences, did use all diligence and shifts to put off the sitting of the parliament, and did labour their best to nourish the present distempers of this land by not timely preventing the same, and by taking away from your majesty all the best means of defence within this kingdom, as by conveying hence all their treasure and other wealth, children and families, and permitting very many of your judges, commanders of your army and other officers, and multitudes of the English of this land to do the like, and to relinquish the kingdom, leaving their lands and possessions destitute of all defence, to the great weakening of this your realm, and to the terror and discouragement of the rest of that nation that as yet remain here; which flight of theirs gave advantage and occasion to the lawless peasantry and ruder multitude to rob and pillage many protestants here, and offer many other outrages and injuries unto them without our privity; we, the better sort, having not done them the least offence or detriment, nor advantaged ourselves in any thing by that their pillage or loss.

4. YOUR majesty's old standing army here, which was appointed to keep the garrison towns of this land, and in your forts and castles here, which receives yearly large entertainment from your highness, hath been hitherto an army in name only and not in substance, and was not visible in them towns or forts through the neglect and corruption of your governors and state here, whereby

whereby the said army of Ulster did surprize most of the forts and castles in the said province without resistance, and expulsed thence most of the British inhabitants.

5. SUNDRY of your majesty's loyal subjects near Dublin and elsewhere here, were lately murthered in their beds, and many of them lately were and are daily hanged by martial law without cause, by Sir Charles Coote and others here, by colour of unsealed paper warrants of your said justices, the said warrants being wholly against the fundamental laws of this realm, and the persons that suffered were poor, naked, innocent men, not taking arms nor offending against your majesty's peace or laws, and most of them beneficial servants to the common wealth, as being either husbandmen or tradesmen.

6. IT was resolved by your justices and state of this realm, as we understand by good intelligence, to waste all the country here, without excepting any, especially near Dublin; and in pursuance thereof they caused divers of their troops and bands to murder sundry of your good subjects here, (they committing no offence against law or your crown) both men, women, and children, without regard of sex or age, and to burn, pillage, and waste all the country, and particularly the lands and goods of some of your best subjects, they not transgressing against your crown or laws, and published a proclamation to burn all the corn within ten miles of

of Dublin here if they did not within ten days bring the same to Dublin for the supply of your majesty's army there; which was a work impossible to be accomplished in so short a time, yet many in obedience to this proclamation did carry their corn to Dublin, where they were promised in the proclamation by your said justices to receive the full price thereof according to the market; yet contrary to their promise, the poor mens corn was taken from them, and nothing paid them for the same.

7. DIVERS men that came to Dublin lately to serve the market with commodities, were robbed of all their money and other goods upon their return at the gates of Dublin, by the soldiers that guarded the gates, and upon complaint to the state obtained no manner of redress; and your state here have by strong hand taken from divers good subjects, residing in Dublin, all their plate and money, and other goods to the value of many thousand pounds, without colour of right, and have burned and wasted all the country about Dublin, being hitherto the principal granary and store of this land for corn and cattle, and now is but a wilderness and waste desert.

8. THIS cruel and lawless proceeding drew divers of your good subjects to take arms in their own defence, and thereupon your justices did by publick proclamation, desire a conference with them, to understand the cause of their discontents and taking arms, giving them your

your majesty's word in the interval for the security of their persons and goods, yet did they after the proclamation was published, and during their safe conduct, pillage and burn one of the said gentlemen's principal towns, houses, fishing-boats, together with his dwelling-house, houses of office, corn, and other goods, to the value of more than five thousand pounds; which breach of word and faith in your majesty's justices and state of this realm, giving just cause of jealousy and suspicion of their sincerity and intentions towards the said gentlemen, made them forbear to observe any further the contents of the said proclamation, but to continue their arms and stand upon their guard; whereupon Sir Charles Coote (they giving him no just provocation or offence, and containing themselves within the bounds of your laws) with a great power of horse and foot, several times attempted to surprize and oppress them, and in those encounters divers men were slain on both sides.

9. THERE was a late odious protestation made, and declared in parliament here against the proceedings and actions of the Irish forces of Ulster, of purpose to incense them against us, and engage us in a mortal war with them; which protestation, had it not been yielded unto by those that sat then in parliament, it was then resolved by your state here (as we are credibly informed) either to massacre such of us catholicks as were then there as members thereof, and that would oppose the same, or seize at least

leaſt upon our perſons, and make us perpetual priſoners; and for the better execution of that their purpoſe, they placed two hundred men with muſquets charged and matches kindled about the parliament houſe and in the paſſage to it, with their pieces bent and levelled towards us in our paſſage forth from the parliament-houſe.

10. YOUR majeſty's juſtices and ſtate here have neglected all the preſent means that might be afforded within this realm for the ſuppreſſing then of the commotion of Ulſter; notwithſtanding that divers of prime lords and gentlemen of this your kingdom were earneſt ſuitors to raiſe forces againſt the ſaid northern army, and did undertake with great care to appeaſe the preſent troubles, they applying themſelves ſolely for advice and ſupply to the parliament of England.

11. YOUR majeſty's ſaid juſtices upon firſt knowing of the riſing in arms of the army in Ulſter, rejected the recourſe for advice and aid in a matter of that conſequence to the parliament here, which was beſt able without effuſion of blood or charge to afford the moſt powerful and preſent remedy to that diſtemper, they of Ulſter having ſubmitted themſelves and the cauſe wholly to the parliament of Ireland, but your juſtices ſlighting not only the parliament here, but likewiſe forgetting their duty to your majeſty, in moſt contemptuous manner, made the houſe of commons of the parliament of England

England first acquainted with their proceedings, and supplicated to them for supply of forces and money before they had given notice to your majesty thereof, and received your commands therein, which cannot be interpreted but as the highest breach of duty.

12. And your majesty's justices and state of this realm, ever since the beginning of the present troubles of this land, have continued their recourse wholly to the said house of commons of the parliament of England, for advice and assistance in all matters touching the present government of this kingdom, and not to your highness, of set purpose to make this realm totally subordinate to the jurisdiction of the parliament of England, and to shut up all passages of access to your majesty for redress of the grievances of your subjects of this your realm.

13. The house of commons of the parliament there, by the procurement of your state here, intercepts daily all messengers and letters dispatched from hence thither to your majesty, and very lately the lord viscount Dillon of Costillaugh, being employed by the parliament here, to present unto your majesty the grievances of this your realm, and particularly the late frequent miscarriages of your justices and state here, towards the old English and others of your subjects of this kingdom, since the present distempers of this land, his lordship was arrested by direction of the house of commons of the parliament there, in his

journey

journey to London, and all his papers taken from him, thereby to prevent the preferring of your subjects pressures and grievances to your majesty, and to deprive your highness of all intelligence and knowledge of the government and affairs of this kingdom, and your subjects likewise here of all relief and comfort, which by them might be expected or hoped for from your highness, were their present afflictions, sufferings, and miseries made known to your most gracious majesty.

14. YOUR highness's said justices and state of this realm, aiming at the utter destruction of us the catholicks of Ireland, and thereby thirsting after the confiscation of our whole estates and fortunes, did publickly deliver at your council board at Dublin, that they would make a second total conquest of Ireland, and wished where one is now in action there might be an hundred, by this their malicious expressions labouring to thrust us forceably into rebellion; yet neither sinister practices, or the forces of Ulster, though far beyond us in strength and arms, could force us from manifesting our duty, allegiance, and affection to your majesty, choosing rather to sacrifice all our fortunes, estates, and lives in the defence of your crown and kingdom, than join with them in drawing our swords contrary to our allegiance and duty against your sacred majesty, our dread and only sovereign lord: but these forces here now in the field have given us full assurance of the

justness

juſtneſs of their cauſe by their late general remonſtrance, which they jointly with the reſt of your ſubjects, the catholicks of this your realm, have prepared for to be preſented to your highneſs, thereby teſtifying to all the world, they take arms as well for the defence and advancement of your royal crown, your juſt prerogatives and rights, as for the general ſafeguard and preſervation of the liberties, religion, eſtates, and perſons of us your moſt faithful ſubjects and liege people, the catholicks of this your realm of Ireland.

15. THESE, may it pleaſe your moſt princely majeſty, were the chief grounds and principal motives of our riſing in arms: and we do moſt humbly beſeech your moſt excellent majeſty not to take offence thereat, but to vouchſafe us not only your moſt gracious favour and protection from the cruel and lawleſs deſigns of your juſtices and ſtate here againſt us, but likewiſe to afford us juſt cauſe of laying down our arms, by applying preſent and effectual remedies to our juſt grievances. We are confident your majeſty will be the rather inclined to this our humble requeſt, in that we are forceably againſt our wills driven to take arms for our defence, and that we never entertained one thought of diſloyalty to your majeſty or to your crown, nor will ever do or conſent to any act or thing that ſhall trench upon our faith and allegiance to your crown, neither do we expect or intend the advancement of our fortunes by theſe

diſtempers,

distempers, or the expulsion of any man out of his just possession or estate, but solely desire the liberty and freedom due by the law unto us, being of your best subjects, which we will be ready to manifest to the whole world by all the clear and chearful expressions that can be given, or hoped for from loyal and faithful subjects by their prince.

The humble protestation of the catholicks of the English pale of Ireland, against a proclamation dated the 8th of February, 1641.

WE the catholicks of the said pale have taken notice of a late proclamation published by the lords justices and council of this realm, the eighth day of February last, without his majesty's privity or authority, wherein we among others are (as we conceive) taxed to have conspired, as rebels, to massacre the said lords justices and council, and all the protestants of this kingdom, and to seize into our hands his majesty's castle of Dublin, and all other his fortifications of this kingdom; and that we the said catholicks of the English pale being descended of English, and our predecessors by them, always since the conquest, supported and cherished, yet such was our inbred ingratitude and disloyalty, (as is suggested in the said proclama-

tion) as in purſuance of our bloody intentions, we, with the reſt now in arms here, aſſembled ourſelves in hoſtile manner, ſurprized divers of his majeſty's forts and garriſons, robbed many thouſands of his majeſty's ſubjects, Britiſh and proteſtants, murthered many of them, and committed many other barbarous cruelties upon the perſons and eſtates of the Britiſh proteſtants, without regard of quality, age, or ſex. And it is further urged in the ſaid proclamation, that to cover our wickedneſs in theſe cruel acts ſo to deceive the world, we add yet to our wickedneſs a further degree of impiety, pretending outwardly, that what we do is for the maintenance and advancement of the king's prerogative, whereas it appears manifeſtly (as in the proclamation is alledged) that our arms and purpoſes inwardly are (if it were poſſible for us ſo to do) to wreſt from him his royal crown and ſcepter and his juſt ſovereignty over this kingdom and nation, and to deprive him and his lawful miniſters of all authority and power here, and to place it on ſuch perſons as we think fit; and that we were conſpiring this miſchief againſt his majeſty, his crown and kingdom, even then while he was exerciſing acts of grace and benignity towards us, granting to his ſubjects here the fulneſs of their own deſires in all things, ſo far as with honour and juſtice he poſſibly could, and that we were in no degree provoked by any juſt cauſe of publick grief received from his majeſty or his miniſters, to undertake ſuch deſ-

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perate wickedneſs, nor can aſſign any cauſe of taking arms, other than the unnatural hatred which we bear to the Britiſh proteſtants, whom we deſire and publickly profeſs (as in the proclamation affirmed) to root out from amongſt us. And moreover divers particular men of the ſaid pale are by the ſaid proclamation, by ſpecial name, proclaimed traitors and rebels, and likewiſe all their confederates, aiders and adherents; which proclamation is againſt law in that they are not legally convicted of any treaſon or rebellion. And whereas we are given to underſtand that his majeſty himſelf, by a later proclamation doth command all the perſons that have ſurpriſed any of the caſtles, forts or magazines within this realm, to render the ſame to his highneſs's hands, and likewiſe to lay down their arms by the twenty-fifth day of March, one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-two, (ſtiling them and all their accomplices and adherents, rebels and traitors) otherwiſe they to be purſued with fire and ſword as traitors, if they did not render the ſaid forts and caſtles, and lay down their arms by the ſaid twenty-fifth of March.

We the ſaid catholicks of the ſaid pale taking into conſideration ſuch parts of the ſaid proclamation as lay aſperſion or ſcandal upon us and our loyalties, do in our own juſtification and vindication of our honour, integrity and faith, unto his moſt ſacred majeſty and his crown, proteſt before God and the world, that we are not guilty of any of thoſe foul crimes, treaſons or

ſlanders, wherewith we are charged by the ſaid proclamations, neither have we ſurpriſed or do poſſeſs any of his majeſty's forts, caſtles, or magazines, or in any murtherous manner imbrued our hands in the blood of any Britiſh proteſtants, nor any of us of the better ſort have robbed or pillaged any of them, nor diſpoſſeſſed them of their lands or eſtates, nor have been any aiders or maintainers of any in thoſe actions, neither have we any malice to them, but do reſpect and eſteem of them as being of the ſame nation from whence we and our anceſtors are deſcended, nor do we intend to advantage ourſelves or raiſe any fortune by our now riſing in arms, nor to deprive his majeſty of his crown or ſcepter, or of any part of his revenue, eſtate, prerogative or power. But our aim only in taking arms was, and is for the neceſſary defence and preſervation as well of his majeſty's crown, prerogative, and juſt rights invaded upon by the puritan faction of England, and likewiſe of the religion, lives, liberties, and eſtates of us catholicks, plotted in like manner to be quite extirpated and deſtroyed by the ſame puritan party, as by the remonſtrance of our grievances to his majeſty may more plainly appear. And we further anſwer to that part of the proclamation of the eighth of February, that we are neither privy nor parties to any ſuch conſpiracies, and that we were enforced to take arms for our own defence; in that divers good ſubjects of the ſaid pale, who did not offend

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against his majesty or his laws, were foully murthered, and some hanged by martial law, without cause, many robbed and pillaged by Sir Charles Coote and the English army, in publick manner and by publick directions before we took arms; and since our taking of arms, divers foul murthers of men, women and children have been committed against us, we standing but in our own defence, and our country all pillaged, burned and wasted by the English army, by like direction; and all this before the twenty fifth day of March, being the time prefixed by his majesty for the laying down of arms. And we further affirm, that what murthers, robberies, or other outrages were lately committed upon the British protestants were done by the meaner sort of people, without the allowance or privity of the commanders, or other principal gentlemen of the Irish now in arms, but against their express commands and wills, and did in testimony thereof punish sundry of the said offenders with death, according their deserts, and that those malefactors were provoked to those cruelties by their former oppressions, occasioned by the English and British example of Sir Charles Coote and the protestant army, who exercised far more cruelties and more execrable murthers upon divers of his majesty's good subjects here, not offending against law or his majesty's peace. And when of late in the beginning of those troubles, we made earnest suit to the lords justices and state here

to afford us of the Engliſh pale, arms for our defences againſt the forces of Ulſter, the ſame was denied us, ſave only ſome few arms not ſufficient in any way to withſtand the power of Ulſter, and for that reaſon divers of the counties within the pale, reſtored again to the ſtate the arms delivered them to prevent their ſurpriſal: and the army of Ulſter, forced by ſtrong hand us the inhabitants of the next adjoining counties to Drogheda (which they beſieged) to give them proviſion for their army, and join with them in arms. And we do further declare unto the world, that we were juſtly moved and provoked upon juſt grounds of publick grief to take up arms, not only for defence of his majeſty's prerogative and rights, our religion, lives, liberties, and eſtates, but alſo to obtain redreſs by parliament of our intolerable ſufferings and juſt grievances; which parliament was prorogued of purpoſe, as well to deprive us of the remedy thereof, and of the ſeveral graces his majeſty directed to be conferred upon us in parliament, as alſo to prevent the appeaſing of the commotions and troubles then in Ulſter; the compoſing whereof the forces in that province then in arms, wholly ſubmitted together with the reſt of their grievances, to the judgment and decree of that high court: all which was diſappointed by the ſaid prorogation. And laſtly, we do moſt humbly beſeech his moſt excellent majeſty, not to believe any ſiniſter informations or miſ-reports of our loyalty towards

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him or his crown, and that we may be admitted, by our agents to repreſent unto his highneſs the cleanneſs of our hearts, integrity, faith, and allegiance, together with a remonſtrance of our heavy preſſures and unſufferable grievances, wherewith this kingdom is oppreſſed againſt law, and againſt his majeſty's gracious intentions, and that before we be ſecured in our lives, eſtates, liberties and religion, and until his majeſty underſtand our preſent deplorable ſtate and condition, his highneſs may be graciouſly pleaſed not to be offended with us for continuing in the interval our arms.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty,

Remonſtrance of the right honourable James earl of Caſtlehaven, and lord Audley, concerning his impriſonment in Dublin, and eſcape from thence.

Laqueus contritus eſt & nos liberati ſumus.

SIR,

THE little hopes I have, that this ſhort remonſtrance, or any petition of mine, ſent or to be ſent, ſhall arrive to the honour of your view, makes me careful only to ſet down truth,

and little look at a ſtile befitting the addreſs. Your majeſty by the following diſcourſe may perceive, (if my copy of theſe ſhall be ſo happy as to fall into your hands) the ſufferings of many your faithful ſubjects of Ireland, though of all none goes ſo near me, and I believe the reſt, as that by the juſtices and ſome of the ſtate here, our actions are daily miſrepreſented to your majeſty; and through theirs and the art of their friends in England, all means are deprived us, either by petition or verbal relation to vindicate ourſelves and charge them. Royal ſir, were I conſcious to myſelf, that I did merit the title I fear given me, I would not preſume thus boldly to ſubſcribe myſelf, what I am and ever will be,

SIR,

Your majeſty's moſt loyal

and faithful ſubject,

CASTLEHAVEN, AUDLEY.

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A Remonstrance of the right honourable James, earl of Castlehaven, and lord Audley.

WHEREAS my escape out of sheriff Woodcock's house in Dublin, where I was near twenty weeks a prisoner, is likely to occasion various discourses and conjectures, I have thought fit, by advice of my friends, to remonstrate the truth of my case.

After having, with the rest of the peerage of England, for the space of near a year, served his majesty there, first, in his great council at York, and then in the parliament; but still under the awe and terror, either of the Scotish army at Newcastle, or the rude rabble at London. At length many of the lords (as well wearied with that extream slavery, as unwilling to be any longer eye-witnesses of the affronts daily multiplied on the king and queen, and other intolerable insolencies tending to the destruction of monarchy, and establishing of popular government) retired themselves to their several houses; and I, with his majesty's leave, approved by the lords of parliament, about the feast of S. Michael the archangel, 1641, came into Ireland, where shortly after appeared the sparks of the ensuing war, that now by fire and sword doth rage throughout this kingdom. Upon the first discovery whereof, I with all possible speed repaired

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to Dublin, and there not only offered my ſervice, but ſued to the ſtate for employment, for the ſuppreſſing of that commotion, but it was refuſed; anſwer being given me by one of the juſtices, and others of the council, that the character I bear of papiſt, made me uncapable of truſt, nay even of arms, to defend my own houſe from robbers. At this time the county of Kildare (where I reſided) was quiet, and held ſo till about mid November. But now the tide of confuſion began to overflow thoſe banks alſo, which occaſioned my ſecond journey to the juſtices and council; where after having made a faithful narration of the ſtate of that county, I became an humble ſuitor, that a troop of horſe might be preſently ſent down, averring, that a ſmall force would then do that, which the month following might be work for an army. But the effect of this journey, was only their lordſhips thanks, with an unanimous licence from the whole council, that until they were able to relieve me, I ſhould make fair weather, and preſerve myſelf and mine by the reſpect they knew the country bare me. But this helped me little; for ſhortly after, moſt of the chief of that county declared themſelves: ſo that the reſt of the winter, I was enforced to ſtand on my guard, with watch and ward, both day and night, keeping my brother M. Maruin Touchet, or ſome other, always at Dublin, from time to time, expecting the commands of the ſtate. The winter now paſt, and fair weather coming on, about Eaſter the

the Engliſh army (commanded by the lieutenant general, now marquis of Ormond) in its march to Leix lodged ſome four miles from my houſe, whither that night, by the reſpect of the lieutenant general, was ſent a ſafeguard. And in thankfulneſs, the dutcheſs of Buckingham, the earl of Antrim, and myſelf, went the next morning to ſalute his lordſhip and his army; where we were ſo received, as ſtood well with the honour of that great lord and noble commander. After ſome days, his lordſhip having now relieved the places in diſtreſs, and finiſhed his deſign, in his return, and in ſight of my houſe, though three miles from it, was the encounter betwixt the Engliſh army and the Iriſh, commonly called the battle of Kilruſh; whither, becauſe I *in cuerpo*, with my three or four men, without gun or powder, did not come, and being to paſs through thouſands of the Iriſh, I am ſaid, by the malicious, to have diſcountenanced the king's army. The evening after victory, his lordſhip's march being near my houſe, he was pleaſed, with ſome of his chief commanders, to refreſh themſelves there; and in the night, his lordſhip wanting a guide to conduct him and his army ſome four miles to their quarters, I would truſt none with that charge but myſelf. Notwithſtanding this my reſpect, it muſt be given out, that ſo great an entertainment was never intended for the lieutenant general and his followers, but rather for the lord viſcount Mountgarret, and the reſt of the rebels.

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To this point, divers witnesses are examined against me, though God knows I expected not either of their coming thither.

By these misinterpretations of my actions, I thought I must no longer sleep, doubting that my quiet living in the country drew envy on my person, so that I resolved to put myself into the fashion, that is, to leave my house to be burnt, my stock of all sorts (being of great value) to be a prey to whatsoever would take them; and to look at nothing, but to save myself and people, with some choice goods. To this purpose, I presently resolved to move the state at Dublin, that I might have licence to go for England, it being the custom of this kingdom not to depart without leave; but as I was dispatching the messenger, a letter unexpected fell into my hands, delivered me by one of my servants; but the bearer never came to my presence. I opened it, never asking or considering from whom it might come, I found it subscribed by the viscounts Gormanstown and Nettervill, and the lord of Slane; it was to this effect; that in obedience to his majesty's proclamation, they, and the other united lords and gentlemen, had laid down arms; to intimate which to the state, they had sent one lieutenant colonel Read, from whom they had not heard; and that nevertheless, daily their own and their tenants houses were burnt, their goods taken, and people killed. They desired that I would mediate with the state for a cessation of arms; and that a place might be

be appointed, where they and their confederates might meet to draw up their grievances, and so have free access, by way of petition, to present them to his majesty. With this letter, I presently sent another from myself to the state, wherein I seemed to wish some good return might be made, but it happened otherwise; for answer to their lordships, they would make none at all, alledging they were rebels and traitors, and after many frivolous exceptions taken to my letter, as one, that I did not also call them rebels and traitors, they admonished me to have nothing to do with them, and instead of licensing me to go for England, they commanded I should not depart the kingdom without leave. All this while, from the first opening the ways from Dublin to my house, I was frequently at the English garrisons, and had always with me, either troops or troopers of the English army.

And now finding my unhappiness, that how candid or sincere soever my actions or meaning was, I must still be mistaken; I packed up all I could conveniently carry, and resolved presently to go to Dublin, where I would make my abode, till I had leave to pass for England. But some few days before my intended departure, news is brought me, that by chance some of my friends at Dublin had discovered, that I stood indicted of high treason, for it was done with great secrecy.

Amazed at this sad and unexpected news, the next morning by five of the clock, I post for Dublin,

Dublin, giving order, that all my beſt furniture and linen ſhould be preſently ſent after, which accordingly was done. My ſtock of all ſorts (as the marquis of Ormond and Sir Arthur Loftus well know) I beſtowed for the uſe of the Engliſh army, and deſired nothing in recompence, but only that my people, with the remainder of my goods, might be brought ſafe to Dublin, where I was now gone to purge myſelf.

But I continued there for many days, without any notice taken of me, though I preſently acquainted the lords juſtices, and many of the council, of my arrival, and the cauſe; ſo that it was then thought, and may yet be believed, that they hoped by that indictment, rather to have frighted me, as they had done thouſands of others, into rebellion, as they term it, than that they had any good evidence againſt me.

But I not willing to lie long under that title of infamy, went myſelf to the council, took notice of my charge, and deſired, that with all convenient ſpeed, I might be brought to my purgation. Hitherto it is evident, I thought not of my eſcape. The council, after ſome debate, confined me to maſter Woodcock's houſe, one of the ſheriffs of Dublin. From whence, after a day or two, I ſent a petition to the ſtate, and it was to this effect, laying down by many particulars the improbability of my aſſociating myſelf in this war, as that I was a peer of England, that the main of my eſtate lay there, and the little intereſt or power I had in this kingdom; that

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my accuſers were of baſe condition, and would have been taken off for a ſmall ſum of money, and that two of them, namely, Ennis and his ſon, ran away from the Engliſh colours with their arms, and afterwards ſerved againſt them at the battle of Kilruſh; and the third, William Collis, had been ſadler to ſome of the Iriſh army, whereby it is moſt evident, that beſide what other reward thoſe men might be promiſed, they were made ſure of their lives; that the jury who found this indictment, on the evidence of theſe men, were perſons of the ſame nature and condition, as particularly one Francis Dade, who aſſociated himſelf with the Iriſh, changed his religion, and went to maſs. This man having forfeited his life, according to their rule, they make a leading jury-man, and I believe a witneſs, he not daring to deny what they would have him do or ſay. In fine, that there was not one gentleman, or ſcarce a landed-man amongſt them. For theſe reaſons, and for that it had been frequently granted to others in the like caſe, I deſired to be bailed. Anſwer was returned to this modeſt petition, that the witneſſes were no rebels, but eſpies; ſo that what I had ſaid, was no impeachment to their teſtimonies, and in general they thought not fit to grant the petition. Well, though I thought that as well this anſwer, as the whole proceedings, ſomewhat harſh, yet I did not much weigh it; for ſhortly after was to follow Trinity term. At which time I aſſured myſelf,

ſelf, that by my innocency I ſhould be ſet free both from priſon and blame.

Oh! but here I was much deceived. For this term muſt be otherwiſe employed. For though through hanging, racking, and barbarous treating of ſuch as ſubmitted on the king's proclamation, thouſands had declared themſelves for the country, which were in all poſt haſte going to Dublin, to put themſelves under the protection of the ſtate; yet there were as many more that ſtood at a gaze, as moſt unwilling to run the common courſe, and yet loth to be handled after this rude manner. Againſt theſe, muſt bills of indictment preſently be drawn, and grand-jury-men picked for the purpoſe. And to ſtrike the buſineſs dead in the eye, fearing theſe men were not wicked enough, the judges of the king's chief place, on the bench delivered, as part of their charge, that they muſt not be ſcrupulous; for that common fame was now evidence enough to find a bill of indictment.

Notwithstanding this great and holy employment of theſe reverend fathers of the law, they muſt yet do ſomething more to ſhew their grandeur; that was, I by a *habeas corpus* muſt be brought into the court before them, where after I had been ſufficiently looked at by their lordſhips and the people, I was remanded back to the place whence I came, without any thing ſaid unto me. This term finiſhed, and the jurymen having well acted their parts, ſome of the

the judges are dispatched for England, to shew there, that the pen in Ireland had been as active as the sword, and that now, for the destruction of, at least all the prisoners, there wanted little, but that old saying, Hang-man, do your office.

It is no great wonder that now, how innocent soever I was, my head should begin to ake. Yet a session of parliament being shortly to follow, I conceived good hope of fair play there: but when I saw the composure of this great tribunal: that the upper-house consisted of no more than five or six temporal lords, and some bishops; the house of commons (anciently the representative body of the kingdom) for the major part of clerks and clerks-men, few having any land, and those illegally chosen, as by musketteers, and a rabble of such like freeholders: I began to think that such a kind of parliament might err, and feared nothing more than a trial there. And surely I had reason when nothing would serve their turns, but a cessation of Poyning's act, during that session; by which they were freed from transmitting their bills into England, and so might make laws, as in their discretions they thought fit; and I have too great cause to believe, they would have made one for attainting me, and the rest of the prisoners.

All this while, no means are untried to make matter against me, for as before, witnesses were rewarded, by giving them their lives, being forfeited: so now to others, rough language must be used. One John Bird being examined

before Sir Robert Meredith, concerning me, and not anſwering as was expected, the ſaid Sir Robert demanded his religion, the honeſt man replied, a proteſtant: Ah! quoth he, by thy anſwers thou ſhouldeſt have a little pope in thy belly.

And now, having by many ſuch indirect ways, furniſhed themſelves with plenty of evidence, they begin to affront me, by diſarming my men, by pulling one maſter Henry Slingſby out of my chamber, coming by accident with a gentlewoman to viſit me, ſaying, he was a Romiſh popiſh jeſuit, it being well known, he was no ſuch man; and ſo carried him to priſon.

And laſtly, the ſheriff's houſe is now thought too weak for ſo great a traitor. Hereupon a writ is iſſued to the ſheriff, to bring me with a ſtrong guard to the Inns, where the judges were, being near half a mile: from whence I muſt be ſent to the caſtle, a loathſome priſon of itſelf, but the inhumanity of the gaoler, by name Manwaring, after Hell, makes it the ſecond place for miſery and affliction. Well, I thought it now high time, as the judges had ſummoned my body, I ſhould recollect my wits. And as I ſtood conſidering my caſe, a paſſage in the earl of Strafford's trial occurred to my memory. He ſtood much upon his juſtification, and demanded the benefit of the law, but maſter St. John replied, that to hares, deer, and other innocent creatures, law was afforded; but to wolves, foxes, and other ſuch

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like vermin, any means might be sought for their destruction. Now, I finding myself hitherto dealt with as one of these, although I waved the malice of the wolf, I made some little use of the fox's craft, and for that present feigned myself sick, and on information thereof given, my attendance on the judges was spared till the morrow.

Having thus gained time, I well pondered all which hath been before related, together with, If I were a traitor, to whom it was? The king, himself, I found pursued both with men and sword, by an army of his own people; whosoever followed or adhered unto him, declared rebels and traitors; the queen, his royal consort, flying from place to place, like an exiled or banished woman; by Mr. Martin's, and divers the like speeches in the house of commons in England, that his sacred majesty was not fit to bear the office of a king, and that he might be deposed; and much more to this effect, as may be seen in divers printed papers: which language in that place going unpunished, I could not conceive that the authors of such insolencies, or the swaying malignant part of the state here, who from time to time took their directions from them, could adjudge any thing against his majesty treason. O, but I remembered, that in a book of the kings, relating truly all the passages, from the first of this parliament to the twelfth of August, he complains of two great officers, lately set up in England, who usurped

the regal power, the one is a general for the land, the other admiral of the sea: but to these I never owed allegiance, and so consequently could be no traitor to them. I then began to consider the condition of this kingdom, as that the state did chiefly consist of men of mean birth and quality; that most of them steered by the influence and power of those who were in arms against the king; that they had by cruel massacring, hanging, and torturing, been the slaughter of thousands of innocent men, women, and children, better subjects than themselves; that they, by all their actions shew, they look at nothing but the extirpating of this nation, the destruction of monarchy, and by the utter suppressing of the ancient catholick religion, to settle and establish puritanism. To these I could be no traitor. Near about the time of this my exigency, I was much cheared by a visit I received from Sir Arthur Loftus, son to Sir Adam Loftus, a leading instrument in all wicked designs against his majesty, telling me (as joyful news) that the parliament had lately given the king a total overthrow, and that he was now reduced to so low a condition, that by the next, we should certainly hear the king had submitted to the parliament, and till that were done, things would never do well. Here I took my resolution, with God's help, not tamely to die butchered, and so to have my innocency smothered, but to preserve my life, I hoped more to the honour of God, and service of king Charles, and that by escape.

escape. Now forasmuch, as the most immediate way into England was blocked up, I resolved a trial, to gain a passage by Wexford into France, and from thence into England, conceiving, I should have been forthwith able to have put myself into a sum of money, to have borne my charges, by the sale of such plate, goods, and stock, as I had in the country; but I was not many hours out of Dublin, before I was pursued by some troops of horse, Sir Arthur Loftus leading them, who that night came to my house in the county of Kildare, and missing me, killed some of my servants, hurt divers, and after having rifled the house, they set it, and all about it on fire: and besides all my servants prisoners, they carried away more than the worth of five thousand pounds in plate, and other goods.

Here my wings being clipt, all that I had to carry me abroad, or keep me at home, being thus taken from me, together with the distractions in England, that I could make little or no account of my estate there; in this streight, I thought fit to apply myself to the great assembly of the kingdom of Ireland, who having given me full satisfaction for their assembling, and that their taking arms was but natural, as to defend themselves and theirs from those aforesaid barbarous cruelties; and that they desired (as may appear by many their instruments in writing) nothing but the free exercise of their ancient religion, their just liberties, and the preservation

of this crown unto his majesty, I having some interest both in honour and estate in the country, associated myself with them; and they, after some time that I was amongst them (more out of charity than merit in me) offered me the generalship of their horse, of the province of Leinster, which I thankfully accepted: and now in my colours bear this device, *Sagittæ tuæ acutæ in corda inimicorum regis.* For the executing whereof, I desire God no longer to prosper my actions, than my heart, hand, sword, and prayers, shall be readily and chearfully employed therein.

HAVING, with much trouble to the reader, endeavoured to vindicate myself in this remonstrance, I conceive it both proper and charitable, in this place, to labour to acquit him, who I understand hath unjustly suffered for my sake, I mean sheriff Allen. The protestant sheriff Woodcock, to whose custody only I was committed, went unpunished for my escape, as really he knew nothing thereof. But sheriff Allen being a catholick, who had no charge of me, nor acquaintance with me, other than that I often saw him, when he came to treat with his brother sheriff about the city affairs, he poor innocent man, for so I take God to witness he was as to my escape, or to any word let fall to that effect to my knowledge, or that I can guess is, with all inhumanity dragged to prison, most of his goods seized upon and taken away, and a great number of soldiers cessed upon his house, whereby,

whereby, and being made uncapable to receive his rents or debts, or to follow any other way he had to gain a living by; his wife and children from that day forth were exposed to the charity of their friends; and he endured imprisonment for a whole year in misery. How justifiable or conscionable this proceeding was, I will not argue, much less aggravate, having discharged my conscience, the matter itself both to God and the world, crying loud for justice.

A letter from a protestant in Ireland, to a member of the house of commons in England, upon occasion of the treaty in that kingdom, 3 Oct. 1643.

SIR,

THAT you have no sooner received an answer to your's of the fourth of the last month, you must impute to the length thereof, and weight of the argument, which I was resolved to communicate to those upon whose affections and judgments you principally rely of any in this place; and of their approbation and consent to your proposition, and your reasons, I cannot give you such an account as I presume you expect, for I must tell you, as you of London grow more elate in your stile, and mention of us here, as a poor people totally at your devotion, and to be preserved or ruined according

as you pleaſe, to vouchſafe your conſideration of us: ſo our ſufferings and our wants have given us ſo much courage and pride, that we look upon you as our equals, too negligent and unmindful of your fellow ſubjects. And Sir John Clotworthy's own ſpecial friend, ſaid paſſionately, at the reading your letter, that he plainly ſaw the intention of the houſe of commons in England was, only that we ſhould change our maſters, not improve our conditions; and that all the compaſſions you ſeem to have of the miſeries of Ireland, was but to get credit enough to work miſchief in England. Truly, ſir, the face of things, and diſpoſitions of perſons are much altered ſince you left us; and what I now write to you, is the ſenſe of all thoſe (one only excepted) with whom you directed me to confer. Your other correſpondent ſhewed us the copy of the petition you ſent hither, to be ſubſcribed by the proteſtants of this kingdom, againſt making or conſenting to any peace with the rebels, and deſired us to diſtribute ourſelves to ſeveral quarters, for the getting of hands to it, telling us that his neighbour (the lecturer whom you uſed to frequent on Fridays) had already gotten near 200 hands to it, and that you expected it again in England by the twentieth of this month, becauſe you deferred the publiſhing your laſt declaration concerning Ireland till then, upon peruſal of it, we all wiſhed it were in your hands again, or at leaſt, that that gentleman's zeal, to whom you committed it, had vouchſafed to have taken our

advice

advice before he made it so publick, for we are confident it will not only be disappointed of that consent and approbation you expect; but we fear it may make a contrary impression in many, and those of the greatest power, interest, and reputation, who have only borne the uneasiness and calamity of a war, in hope of a speedy, safe, and honourable peace; and what must these men think, when they see a protestation entered against peace in general, without any consideration of the justice, honour, or security of it? Pardon me, if I tell you in what language the grief and sorrow of some very good men (even in your own calendar) hath vented itself upon the view of this petition; they say you sit like a proud wanton people, upon a secure fruitful hill, and barbarously, inhumanly, delight yourselves with the prospect of battles, contentions, desolations, and famine in the vallies: that you are gotten upon a safe and pleasant rock, and recreate yourselves with the miseries and destruction other men endure by tempests and shipwrecks about you. I beseech you sir, consider what it is you advise us to.

That all the protestants in Ireland join in a petition to his majesty, or to both houses of parliament in England; for you say you have not yet determined to whom the petition shall be directed, that may be done when it comes to London, against making a peace with the rebels in Ireland; an excellent evidence and testimony of our religion. Have the protestants with so much acrimony

acrimony and bitterness differed amongst themselves so long about forms and circumstances? and can there be no expedient found out to reconcile us, but a peremptory dislike of peace? Good Sir, let such petitions be framed and preferred by Turks and infidels, who have no reverence of the precious image of their Maker, but with the same temper behold the slaughter of a man and of a horse, who have no principles of charity and brotherly compassion, or apprehension of future punishment for the want of them. Let those whose religion, you say, is rebellion, and whose doctrine you accuse to be inconsistent with peace, prefer petitions against peace; God forbid the protestants of any kingdom should consent to such a petition. If your reformation of religion must be made by blood and desolation, and your propagation of the gospel by the extirpation of nations, call it a progress to any religion, rather than of the protestants, whose glory and custom hath always been to give up their own, not the lives of other men, a sacrifice to the truth they profess. What are the arguments in religion or policy which you can give us, or that we can give his majesty, to persuade him, that a speedy peace and accommodation is not good for this miserable distracted kingdom?

You say they are papists, and ought not to be suffered to live amongst us. I hope I may with more freedom speak in this argument than other men, for you know I have been always passionately

ſionately inclined againſt the growth of that religion, and concurred with you in any propoſition for the ſuppreſſion thereof. I would to God you had virtuouſly uſed the advantages have been offered you to that purpoſe; at leaſt, that you had not ſo much played with religion in your votes and declarations, and totally excluded it in your actions. Believe it, Sir, good works which comprehend loyalty and obedience, will be never ſo much diſgraced under the imputation of popery, as not to be thought an eſſential part of chriſtian religion, into what opinions ſoever diſtinguiſhed. I may, without oſtentation, tell you, no man hath ſpent more hours in prayer, that it will pleaſe God to ſtrike the hearts of this nation with the true knowledge of his worſhip, that we may be all of one mind both in the ſubſtance and circumſtance of religion; but you muſt pardon me, if I do not believe the way to remove the errors is to deſtroy the men; that the way to people Ireland with proteſtants, is to cut the throats of all the papiſts. Religion can never be fruitful in that ſoil which is tainted and overflowed with rivers and ſtreams of blood. Admit there were no conſideration of juſtice or chriſtianity in the caſe, no motion of thoſe bowels which muſt yearn at the murdering and maſſacring of mankind: do you not think it were a moſt prudent, a moſt politick poſition for his majeſty to publiſh, That he is reſolved to have no papiſt to live in any of his dominions? If he were in a condition to execute ſuch a ſentence,

and

and all men ready to give obedience to it, would he not rob himself of an invaluable treasure and strength in the loss of so many subjects? You seemed to take great care at the beginning of this rebellion, that it should not be thought a war for religion; you would not provoke all of that profession to think themselves concerned in it; and you did wisely. The earl of Clanrickard hath as much reason to expect that religion should be magnified in his loyalty, as to find it suffer in the defection of my lord Maguire; but you must take an equal care, that as you will not have it thought in them a war for religion, so they must not think it a war in you against religion, that will produce the same danger. We that have enjoyed that full measure of prosperity and plenty in this kingdom, cannot doubt of enjoying the same in the same company. Let the laws of the land be judge of their actions, and God in his good time will rectify or pardon their opinions.

Why then must we have no peace, because they are rebels? Is this your proposition? No rebellion must be extinguished but with the blood and extirpation of the rebels. Put it to the question; no man looks upon this rebellion with more horror than I do; few men have felt sadder effects of it, either in the exercise of the sword or fire; my houses burned, and my two sons killed in cold blood; yet I do believe very many honest men have been cozened into this action by the power and persuasion of their leaders,

ers, or frightened into it by the ill managery of affairs here, who never entertained disloyal thought towards their sovereign, or seditious thought towards their country. And there are good men who imagine that there hath not been less skill and industry used by some of your friends in England, and some of my friends in Ireland, to improve and continue this rebellion, than were in the most active contrivers to begin it; otherwise, why were the first proclamations of pardon sent out of England with so much care concealed here, and unpublished but in two counties, and such who within the time prefixed rendered themselves according to that proclamation, imprisoned, and used with that severity, as if they had been taken in the act of rebellion? Believe it, sir, when all miscarriages of that kind shall be scanned, unpardonable faults will be found in those who have cried out most upon this rebellion; but I am far from excusing even those who have been, in truth, misled; if there hath not been an absence of loyalty, there hath been of conscience, courage, and discretion, without which the other is but a dream; and no doubt the contrivers of these distempers had in their purpose as much confusion, cruelty, and inhumanity, as much malice to the English government, and the English nation, as can be imagined, and yet they make specious pretences and arguments for all that they do. There was a frier taken in the last expedition into Connaught, about whom was found a collection of all

your

your votes, ordinances, and declarations in England, very carefully perused, and marked with short marginal notes by him, and out of them a large manuscript, framed by himself, and intitled, "An apology of the catholicks of Ireland, or a justification of their defensive arms for the preservation of their religion, the maintenance of his majesty's rights and prerogatives, the natural and just defence of their lives and estates, and the liberty of their country, by the practice of the state of England, and the judgment and authority of both houses of parliament in England." In truth so unhappily penned, with so little variation of language, that but for the alterations of Ireland for England, and some great persons of this kingdom in the places of some named by you, your own clerk would hardly know it from one of your own declarations. All that they do is for the good of the king and kingdom. The king is trusted with the forts, magazines, treasure, and offices for the good and safety of the people; if he doth not discharge this trust, but is advised by evil counsellors and persons they cannot confide in, 'tis their duty to see this trust discharged, according to the condition and true intent thereof. That they saw their religion and liberty in danger of extirpation, and therefore they had reason to put themselves into a posture of defence. That they are ready to lay down those defensive arms as soon as the great offices of the kingdom are put into such hands as they can confide in; with all those other common places which are so much insisted

on

on by you in your ſeveral declarations. But admit this rebellion were an entire act of the whole Iriſh nation; that it was deſigned by an unanimous conſent to free themſelves from the yoke of England; if they repented now of that deſign, and having felt the ſmart of that folly and madneſs, deſired to return to their allegiance, can there be no door open to mercy and oblivion? I believe you would vote him an evil counſellor that ſhould give the king that counſel in England. I am glad your letter from the two houſes to our juſtices and council (the copy of which I received incloſed in yours) hath miſcarried, for I am ſure 'tis not yet come to hands. You will find you are miſtaken in the temper of our board, and that they will not bear thoſe reproaches from perſons they are in no degree ſubject to, they think themſelves as competent judges of their expreſſions in their own acts of ſtate, as you are of yours in your votes and ordinances; and being immediately truſted by his majeſty with the government of this kingdom, underſtand better what is in order to the preſervation and deſtruction of it than you do. You tell them, they muſt not conceive the charge of the war is only referred to you, as if your part were to be our bankers only to provide money, and were not to adviſe and direct the managing of the war, which power, you ſay, was granted you by act of parliament, and you will aſſume it as the means to ſave this kingdom. We know no ſuch act of parliament; and we hope there is none, nay, the king muſt pardon us, if we ſay there can be none.

none. He is our sovereign, and we are his subjects; he can no more give us away, and exclude us from his protection, which if he excludes himself from managing this war, or redeeming us from this war by peace, he doth absolutely do, then we can put off our subjection, and say, he shall be our king no longer. Pray consider the condition you would have us understand ourselves to be in: you seem to apprehend us in great straights, in great necessities, reduced into narrow circuits, without money, victual, or munition, in that proportion to contend with our adversaries. You do not pretend to have authority to make a peace for us, be the terms never so honourable; and if he hath not power to do it neither, our portion must be an eternal war, which is no comfortable thing to believe. You say you will bring those to condign punishment, who advised the late commission to hear what the rebels can say or propound for their own advantage. If you can charge them with no other crime but that advice, they will never fear the bar of justice. Why are you offended? do you conceive the case of the rebels to be such, as by any skill or managery in a free and publick debate may gain credit? it were an austere reservedness in the king, for which God Almighty would require a strict account of him, when those he trusts here present the misery of their condition to him, and implore his care and protection, and when those from whom all the mischiefs seem to proceed, pretend to do all those mis-

chiefs

chiefs in their own defence, and desire to be heard for themselves, if he should refuse to hear them, because they are rebels. We have seen a declaration of yours, in which you seem with great vehemence to accuse the king, that he refused to receive a petition from you to hear what you could say for yourselves; and it was a charge of so great weight, that we find the king taking much pains to free himself from, by absolutely denying it, as conceiving it an unkingly thing not to hear what the worst subject can alledge in his own defence. How comes his office to be so inverted? Must the king of England receive all petitions, and the king of Ireland refuse all? Indeed, if the king were guided by such sinister rules of policy and craft as govern your actions, he would not now subject himself to the difficulties and hazard of recovering what you have with so much industry and cunning made desperate; and would content himself that the blood of this poor people should be cast upon your account, and that posterity might see that the loss of such a kingdom was the fruit of a perpetual parliament. But his majesty is too much acquainted with the royal duty of a king, to think he can depute his office of protecting to other hands, and be excused, if by their ill managery a nation (committed to his care) be lost. I assure you, all sober men here are so far from repining at this commission, which you are so scandalized with, that we look upon it as the dawning of that power, which for so many months hath been

eclipsed by the interposition of a monstrous and unnatural jurisdiction; and which we hope will every day break out with that brightness, that will dispel those mists and clouds of confusion, which have so fatally covered us, and that instead of the punishment you threaten, we shall have cause to erect trophies to that council, which advised this blessed overture of accommodation.

You will expect, I know, my opinion of your new covenant, which you have prepared for the three kingdoms, and which you say will unite all your party, and distinguish you from your adversaries: I wish it would; I would there were so much sense of religion left, that for piety and conscience sake men would refuse the taking of any oaths; your experience tells you the contrary, and you see yourselves every day left by those of whom you thought you were very sure under that bond, they looking upon themselves as awed and compelled to take it, and so absolved from the obligation at the instant they are forced to swear; and in truth you might consider, that if they have heretofore sworn any thing that is contrary to this, you have no reason to expect that they should observe this oath, who have broken the former; and I must tell you, 'tis a shrewd evidence, that what you propose is not the desire and solicitation of the kingdom, when you are put to these shifts by force and fraud, by threats and promises, to croud the free-born subjects into a faction. You see the king does not countermine you with these arts and preparatives;

tatives; he applies no anti-covenants to his followers, not so much as reinforces the known lawful oaths of allegiance and supremacy; he is contented to depend upon the natural fruits of loyalty, honour, and generosity, under which obligation his handful of men have swollen into thousands, and spread themselves almost over all the kingdom, whilst the proselytes under your oaths, covenants, and protestations, waste daily and fall off, and are well near shrunk from the fore quarters of the realm which they possessed within the verge of one city. And if you consider how many of those who have taken this new covenant you have sent me, even at the time of taking it, desire in their hearts, that episcopacy should still continue; and how many more, who hate bishops, and think them anti-christian, would yet rather live under them, than under a presbytery, which is the case of the Independents; and both these and many more (who are so far from caring what government of the church is established, that they would be content all the churches in England were pulled down, and both preaching and praying put down for seven years) are directly bound to set up the presbytery: I say, when you consider that men of these several and distinct tempers, with the same zeal take this covenant, 'tis no wonder, that instead of union you find nothing but jealousy and confusion amongst yourselves; and instead of advancing the religion you pretend to, you draw upon you a general suspicion of having no conscience or sense of religion at all.

For the coming in of the Scots, which you ſay is your greateſt and laſt hope, I confeſs, I think you will be deceived: but, by the way, you are wonderfully kind to us, to adviſe us to petition againſt peace, whilſt you are labouring to draw ſo great a part of our army as the Scots in Ulſter, from aſſiſting us, to ſerve you in England. 'Tis too great a buſineſs for me to deliver an opinion in, but methinks it ſhould leſſen very much your reputation with the people, to ſee that after your charging the king ſo long with the purpoſe of bringing in foreign forces, which you have preſſed as the moſt odious charge, and, as a colour and ground for moſt of your actions, you yourſelves at laſt call in foreign aid to help you to do that which you had or can have no pretence of doing, but that all the people of England deſire it, and do not think that ſaying they are your brethren of Scotland, and your fellow-ſubjects, will make them be thought leſs foreign power; you will not be content that the king ſhall call in the Iriſh under the ſame conſideration, and can you think it poſſible, if the Scots ſhall obey your deſires herein, (which after all their vows and covenants of loyalty, duty, and affection to their native king, I cannot think they will ever do) that the king will not pour in all the forces he can procure from all the parts of the world, both into that and the other kingdom? No doubt he looks upon that remedy as the moſt grievous and moſt hazardous, and therefore, with great mercy to his people, hath not

ſuffered

ſuffered himſelf to be tempted by all his wants, all his weakneſs, and your example of entertaining ſo many Dutch Walloons, and all nations againſt him, to ſuffer ſuch a ſupply, which infallibly he might long ſince have had: but if you ſhall be contented to give away your country to ſtrangers, for do not think they will be as eaſily got out as they are brought in, and that you may be revenged of thoſe you have injured, involve the whole kingdom in ſuch a laſting confuſion, you muſt not wonder if ſtrangers be brought in to beat out ſtrangers, though all this miſchief is to be done at the charge of your poor country; I ſay, I cannot believe (though ſome particular perſons may be concerned to keep up this diſtraction) that the Scotch nation will engage themſelves in a quarrel againſt their native king, (to whom they have ſo much general and particular obligations) and againſt the whole nobility and gentry of England, for matters in no degree relative to their own affairs, and venture that bleſſed calm and peace they now enjoy, only to kindle a fire amongſt their neighbours, which probably will not be quenched, till it hath burned to their own habitations. They know well the inveterate mortal hatred this nation of Ireland bears to them, and how glad they would be to be let looſe to their revenge, and they are too wiſe to think the two houſes (whoſe publick faith ſtands ſo deeply engaged) will be as liberal and bountiful a maſter to them, as their royal ſovereign. Be not deceived; one of their prin-

cipal commanders, upon whose personal assistance you much depend, asked me, whether I thought them so sottish to declare themselves against their king, whilst the two houses were governed by my lord Say, who hated their religion, and the army by the earl of Essex, who hated both their religion and nation? and then told me the bitter invectives made by the first against a presbytery, and the sharp and scornful mention by the other of the Scots and Scotland: and, in truth, if ever they enter into your kingdom, the mischief and confusion they will bring, in not submitting to your government; (for what discipline soever they affect in the church, they are assuredly for independency in the state) will be greater than the advantage and aid you will receive by their supplies. In a word, besides the perfect hatred you will find from all the northern parts which you have thrown away to them, and which must be inhabited by them, you will find yourselves deserted by all men who have any desire of peace, and are not willing to entail this war from generation to generation. Dated this third of October, 1643.

Fragmentum

Fragmentum Historicum:

OR, THE

Second and Third Books of the

WAR of *IRELAND.*

CONTAINING

The Transactions in that Kingdom from the Year 1642 to 1647.

By RICHARD BELLINGS, Esq;

Secretary to the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland.

Faithfully transcribed from the original Fragment in the Possession of JOHN CURREY, M. D.

The SECOND BOOK of the War of IRELAND.

THE parliament of England, whom the king by reiterated meſſages had in name importuned to provide for quieting that kingdom, had before this time compelled him to ſet up his ſtandard, and to ſeek ſecurity for himſelf, and protection to his ſubjects that continued ſo faithful to him in the fort of arms, ſo as the Engliſh being now engaged in a civil war at home, the confederate catholicks of Ireland had leiſure to mould ſuch a government as might beſt ſuit with the condition of the times, and conſtitution of their affairs: to which end there met in the city of Kilkenny a very numerous aſſembly of prelates, of noblemen and truſtees, choſen from all the counties and corporations having right to ſend burgeſſes to parliament, in obedience to the ſummons, which as I formerly mentioned, was to be iſſued by thoſe that firſt bore the name of ſupreme council; and becauſe many aſſemblies having ſucceeded this, I may prevent frequent and unneceſſary repetitions of thoſe things which were incident to all of them, and doing of courſe, I ſhall in the entrance of this aſſembly, ſet forth one for all, the moſt material of thoſe forms and ceremonies which were begun in this, and conſtantly obſerved in all the reſt that followed it.

IN

In some large room appointed for the place of meeting, seats were built to the height of three ascents; those at the upper end were designed for the lords and prelates, not so particularly, as others of the trustees did not frequently sit there with them. The chair of the prolocutor was placed at the side of the room, somewhat nearer that end. The precedency of speaking, as to the other members of the house, was determined by the prolocutor,; but a nobleman or prelate that offered to speak was always preferred. All applications to the prolocutor were made by his proper name; for although they regulated their assemblies after the model of the most orderly meetings, yet they avoided, as far as was possible for them, all circumstances that might make it be thought they had usurped a power of convening a parliament, the calling and dissolving whereof the supreme council, by their petition sent to the king after the adjournment of the assembly, avowed to be a pre-eminence inseparable from his royal crown.

The choice of those, who as representatives of the assembly, were to govern by the name of a supreme council, was the work wherein they expressed the most rigorous exactness: for first, an order was conceived in the house, that the several provinces should meet to bring in the names of such as they judged fittest in each province to undergo that charge, limiting their number to double as many as the assembly did resolve the council should consist of. They being

ing met, in obedience to the commands of the house, caused the names of those in their province, who with any probability of success, might pretend to that employment, to be written in a large sheet of paper, drawing a line from each of their names to the edge of the paper; then chusing some discreet persons to be overseers, for preventing of fraud and foul practices in the election, every one of the members returned for that province, gave his vote, by striking those set down in the paper, to the number prescribed by the assembly. This being done, and return made of those thus chosen being given to the clerk of the house, he, in as many sheets of paper, writes the names given in by the four provinces, drawing likewise lines from each of them, wherein the prelates and noblemen, and other the members of the assembly were to mark their votes by their strokes, being first solemnly sworn upon the holy evangelists, by those appointed to oversee the election, to make choice, to the best of their judgment, of the trustiest and ablest men to undergo that charge, to the number of the one half of those presented by each province, and those thus chosen, having taken the oath of counsellors, were, after the recess of the assembly, accepted and obeyed as the supreme magistrates of the confederate catholicks.

At this meeting general orders were established, thenceforth to be observed as the model of their government; by which, after declaring

claring that the Roman catholick church in Ireland ſhould have and enjoy all the privileges and immunities according to the great charter that the common law of England and all the ſtatutes of force, in Ireland, which were not againſt religion, or the liberties of the natives, ſhould be obſerved; that all men ſhould bear faith and true allegiance to the king and his lawful ſucceſſors, and maintain and uphold his and their rights and lawful prerogatives, againſt all manner of perſons whatſoever.

They then deſcended to inſtitute a ſettled government in the hands of truſtees, to whom they continued the name of ſupreme council, with ample power in all cauſes, capital, criminal, and civil, (the right and title of land only excepted) and over all perſons of what degree or quality ſoever; next after it was ordered that provincial and county councils ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and the limits of their reſpective power were ſet forth.

Sheriffs and all other miniſterial officers appointed for conſerving the publick peace of the kingdom were to execute their charge as they were wont, and no temporal government or juriſdiction was to be aſſumed or exerciſed in any part of their quarters, without it were inſtituted or appointed by the general aſſembly, or ſupreme council.

Care was likewiſe taken to reſtrain men's violent entering into poſſeſſion of ſuch lands as they were not lawfully ſeized of the firſt of October,

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one thousand six hundred and forty-one, a decree very necessary in such distracted times, and in the confused beginnings of so tumultuary a war, especially in that kingdom, where some are found who believe no grant nor sale of their ancestors ought to put an end to their pretensions, or avoid the right which in their opinion remains perpetually in the family; they endeavoured also to prevent the animosities which might proceed from those national distinctions of old and new English, and antient Irish.

Moreover they granted all the privileges of a native and exemption of a third part of all the publick charges and levies to any of the English, Welsh, and Scotish nation, being a Roman catholick that would reside amongst them.

For encouragement likewise of traffick and manufacture, they gave all artizans, artificers, makers of ships and mariners that would settle themselves and their families in the kingdom, the liberties and privileges of free denizons.

They gave order likewise for making a public seal, and ordained many other things which were thought, both for continuing that union among themselves, to which by the oath of association then confirmed and enjoined to be taken by all the confederates, they were obliged and for advancing the war in which they were unanimously embarked.

The supreme council chosen, this assembly presently upon the recess of it, according to the

resolution

resolution taken therein, authorized by their commission col. Thomas Preston in Leinster, col. Owen O'Neale in Ulster, major Barry in Munster, and major Roorke in Connaught, to command in chief the forces of those provinces, limiting by such instructions as they thought necessary, the ample power conferred upon them by their commission, and because the courts of foreign princes before the now establishment of the government swarmed with multitudes of agents, whom either particular persons had intrusted to solicit assistance, or had themselves assumed the title and executed a pretended authority, abusing the credulity of strangers, the name of their country, and the reverence borne the cause, for their own private benefit; the council after they had intrusted several persons to agitate their affairs abroad by an instrument, which they were to make publick in the places of their respective employments, suppressed those self intruding solicitors.

These grounds of intelligence from abroad and the conduct of their forces at home being laid, they endeavoured to provide betimes for such wants as did most afflict them; and because the price of corn by reason of much land which the distraction of the times hindered from being tilled began to rise, and that there was a general scarcity of arms and ammunition, they commanded the magistrates of the maritime towns in their obedience to engage such as trafficked beyond the seas to import a third part of their lading,

lading, in wheat, iron, arms and ammunition, and to encourage them therein, they suspended for a time the payment of custom for such commodities.

They gave order likewise for fortifying the harbour of Wexford, both to prevent the enemies landing there, and to encourage as well home as foreign traffick, which now began to be set on foot; the good market they came to, and the example of capt. Antonio Vandezipen, who was the first that adventured to supply the country with arms and ammunition, inviting thereunto.

The council likewise considering the scarcity of coin in the kingdom, and how the peace and plenty wherein the subjects lived for some years before, had not only furnished the houses of men of birth and quality with store of plate, but that those of mean condition, and some artizans had laid up marks of the abundance of former times, gave orders for erecting a mint, wherein silver half crown pieces were coined to the value and goodness of the English money then current among them. Since likewise the reverence borne to the name of the catholick cause, which had so powerful and universal an influence upon those of that nation, did secure the council from any fear they might entertain of the peoples aversions to the new government, they gave order for raising, enlisting, and arming of trained bands in each county, thereby not only bringing their cause the reputation

tation of ſo numerous a militia, but furniſhing the kingdom in a ſhort time with a great quantity of arms, which being the work and in the care of many were more ſpeedily and induſtriouſly procured.

Not obſerving likewiſe the delays uſed in levying and arming that proportion of the army which by order of the aſſembly was to be raiſed in the province of Leinſter, they authorized general Preſton to charge the delinquent counties with free quarter for five hundred foot and one hundred horſe, which ſlowneſs in the entrance upon a deſign ſo generally and ſo cheerfully embraced makes it manifeſt that the affections of a multitude, how paſſionately ſoever they are engaged in a cauſe, do often remit of their fervour when the execution of the enterprize comes home to their perſons or purſes.

The council, moreover, foreſeeing to what height the jealouſies and animoſities between the general of Ulſter, and ſir Phelim O'Neale were grown, employed the lord primate of Armagh into the north, and gave him commiſſion to compoſe their differences, according to ſuch inſtructions as he had received from them, the ground of thoſe gentlemens contention was the deſire in each of them to have the province depend on him, not in right of that ancient great family of the Oſwales on which queen Elizabeth conferred the title of earl of Tyrone, for Con Mac Art O'Neale, a nearer branch of that family, a ſoft unactive man was not long before

come

come out of Flanders, but the one as being of the principal authors of the conſpiracy, and of the actors in it, and poſſeſſed of the places of ſtrength, out of which he had driven the Britiſh inhabitants, believed that there was a tribute of ſubmiſſion and obſervance due to him from that people; and the other, who in truth was a great captain, and acquired much reputation in foreign parts, was of opinion that in ſo diſtracted times, and in a country where his conduct was ſo neceſſary, the eyes of the province ſhould be ſolely fixt on him; and although this conteſt of theirs had ſome intervals, and the fits of their ambition ſome intermiſſion, nay, although it ſeemed that Monſignon Scarampy, the pope's miniſter in Ireland, had perfectly reconciled them, and becauſe he would utterly deface all the marks of differences between them, prevailed with the council to have the impeachments they had given in, the one againſt the other taken of the title, yet theſe differences were never intirely appeaſed, and each of them endeavoured upon all occaſions to ſtrengthen his faction and to countenance his pretenſions, wherein Sir Phelim O'Neale thought he had out-ſtripped the other by the alliance he contracted with general Preſton, whoſe daughter he took to wife, but the general of Ulſter, having married his ſon Henry O'Neale to the daughter of Sir Luke Fitz-Gerald, which followed ſoon after, found ſupport for his intereſts throughout all the parts of Leinſter, by his matching with ſo numerous a family; and al-

though this was not done suddenly, or all at a time, yet I conceived that circumstances of this kind, whensoever they happened, cannot be thought to be unseasonably introduced in a place where they have such connection with the principal matters. But to return to the councils proceedings.

We have formerly spoken of the wariness and circumspection which those who were first chosen to govern the confederate catholicks, observed in all their ways, acting very little by virtue of any authority conferred upon them after so tumultuary a manner, yet even this exterior show and name of supreme magistrates gave encouragement to many good men that naturally affect government, and are glad to see vice punished, to cause open malefactors to be apprehended and sent to prison, whereupon the goals being full, especially at Ross, the supreme council moved their residence thither, both to countenance the first goal delivery, and to compose the many differences and quiet the factions with which the town and country of Wexford were infested, nor was this any new disease among them; the English colonies planted there first of any part of the kingdom, which consisted of those sent over with the allowance of Henry the second, by the earl of Strongbow, in favour of Dermot Mac Morcho, the exiled king of Leinster, surnamed Negaull, by reason of his having brought in the English, and the antient Irish in their neighbourhood being at no time exempt

from

from mutual jealouſies and animoſities: the townſmen likewiſe of Wexford being naturally as violent and ſtubborn at land, as they are famous among the nation for being ſtout and daring men at ſea, were not free from diſſentions among themſelves, and bickerings with ſtranger adventurers, whom the council thought very unfit to be diſguſted at ſuch a time.

While the council remained at Roſs, Monſieur Antoine le Conde Boue de Overmere, a man of quality in Flanders, and near allied to general Preſton, repaired to them, and propoſed that in caſe he might be authorized to command in chief the foreign ſhips of war that came into the kingdom, he would himſelf furniſh a ſquadron of frigates for their ſervice, but he ſoon found that his propoſition was ſo general, and that the council by ſuch a conceſſion meant not to deprive themſelves of the hopes they had of ſhipping from France and the united provinces, then in actual war with Spain, it being very probable that none of them would be willing to ſerve under D'Overmere, who was the ſubject of the catholick king, wherefore having deſcended to accept of a command limited to Flanders and the provinces under the king of Spain's obedience, of whoſe deſire to ſerve under him he made no doubt; they agreed to a commiſſion and inſtructions for him, and incloſed them in a packet to their agents Father Hugh Bourke, afterward biſhop of Killmacdough, and Father Nicholas Shee, to be given

him, if they who were upon the place saw that it brought no prejudice to their affairs; Mons. D' Overmere at first seemed to be well satisfied with those proceedings; but many days past not before he sent the packet back to the general of Leinster, to be given up to the council, desiring him to let them know that he would not receive the commission, unless he might have it without reference to their agents; yet he soon after changed his resolution, and earnest suit was made in his behalf to have the commission restored, even upon the same terms; but it was then too late, for the council had in the mean time received letters from their agents, that many frigates were then ready to come out of Flanders to take letters of marque from them, so as it was resolved that any assistance to be expected from Monsieur D' Overmere could not countervail the hazard the council was to be at, and the loss they were to sustain by granting that commission: for first, the tenths for which they should contract were to be paid him, and out of them he was to be rewarded according to his merit; moreover if within the space of four months he and his friends would set out eight, or ten, or twelve men of war, and he serve with them, those ships might bring what lading they pleased, so the fourth part of it were powder and arms, or other warlike provisions without paying for any merchandize imported by them, custom, poundage, or any other duty or imposition, and this as long as they were pleased

pleaſed to ſerve the confederate catholicks, ſo as it was probable the whole trade of the kingdom would have been driven by thoſe ſhips, and conſequently the publick deprived of the cuſtoms, which afterwards grew to be a very conſiderable revenue; but the apprehenſion they had of being wholly deſtitute of ſhipping, and their extreme want of arms and ammunition, made them at firſt to think all contracts that gave the hope of relief to be reaſonable.

When the council having put an end to thoſe affairs that drew them from Kilkenny were ready to return, there came to them a trumpet with a ſafe conduct from the lords juſtices, for ſuch as they would employ to preſent their grievances to the lord marquis of Ormond, the earl of St. Albans and Clanrickard, the earl of Roſcommon, the lord viſcount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Euſtace, knights, and Thomas Bourke, eſq; or any three of them, authorized by his majeſty's commiſſion, under the great ſeal of England, to receive and tranſmit them; and becauſe we may the better underſtand both the motives that induced the king to grant that his commiſſion and the proceedings thereupon, it will not be amiſs that we look back into England, where the confuſion was very great, the parliament's loſſes at Brentford and other places having rather irritated thoſe that had the power in their hands and an influence upon the people, than diſpoſed them to remit any part of their animoſities, and to put

an end to those distractions, which like a catching fire spread throughout all the kingdom.

The king, who during the whole course of those civil wars, had in all the changes of his fortune pressed to have the differences reconciled and peace restored in the kingdom, had a declaration brought him by the earl of Lindsey, not long before he wrote his letters to the lords justices, requiring them to afford their best aid, assistance and furtherance to the said commissioners; by this declaration of the lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England, which bare date the seventh of November, one thousand six hundred and forty two, there were not only many aspersions laid on the king and his government, but the Scots were invited to assist them, nay succours were claimed from them, as a thing they were obliged by virtue of the late act of pacification, so as the king observing that as well the members of both houses were exceedingly decreased, and thereby the intire power devolved into the hands of those who were reputed the fautors and fomentors of those troubles, as the malice of such as remained was increased to that height against him, as to call in the Scottish nation to support them in their design of opposing him; discerning likewise some symptoms of the Scots inclination to give ear to their request, he began to consider that by quieting the distemper in Ireland, himself not being in a condition to assist his protestant subjects of that kingdom, he might both

secure

ſecure them who were ready to be overborne by a party far more numerous, and might draw great ſuccours from thence for maintenance of his own cauſe, which he now ſaw was no otherwiſe to be determined than by force of arms; and in order to the execution of what he then reſolved, the king cauſed the above-mentioned commiſſion, together with the ſaid letters to be ſent into Ireland, and as the ſafe conduct which the trumpet brought with him to Roſs, was grounded on that letter, ſo the commiſſion itſelf was granted on the petition of the catholicks tranſmitted into England the October before, who made it their humble and earneſt requeſt, that their grievances might be heard and redreſſed: many judgments were made upon the arrival of this trumpet, and men paſſionately deſired to know what meſſage he had brought, which was not long a ſecret, for the ſafe conduct which he delivered at council board being read after the trumpet had retired with thoſe who had charge to attend him, they were ſurprized to find theſe words in it, "that albeit his majeſty hath not thought it fit to admit any of them to his preſence, who have been actors or abettors of ſo odious a rebellion, yet his majeſty, &c. and they who for their particulars preſumed they merited no ſuch language, and as repreſentatives of the nation now united in a ſolemn confederacy, conceived it was not fit for them to admit of that mark of infamy, as juſtly imputed to any of thoſe who paid obedience to

the government, and principally because they then look on them as the lords justices own words, and not taken (as the commissioners after informed them they were) out of the king's letters delivered the lords justices by Mr. Thomas Bourke, one of the commissioners. The council, I say, for those reasons were very much incensed, and having in their answer first taken notice of the summons sent them by the commissioners, of the copy of their commission, which they said they expected from them, of their limiting the number and directing the quality and behaviour of such as should go, they fell to a passionate resentment of the injury they conceived to be done them in the words formerly set down, and declared that it would be a madness in them beyond expression, who fought in the condition of loyal subjects to come in the repute of rebels, to set down their grievances, adding "they would live in the esteem of loyal subjects, or die to a man;" and then concluding that "there was a necessity laid upon them to absent themselves from that meeting;" with this answer they dispatched the trumpet, and not long after returned to Kilkenny; making no difficulty to publish the message which was sent them, and being willing notice should be taken of the answer they returned, which they knew was popular, and would ingratiate the government to the northern party; who, though they were joined with the rest in the same confederacy, yet having already formed an army, and met with some

some success upon their first attempts, they kept at distance, and seemed to stand on their own bottom, without much regarding the orders of those whom the assembly had placed in authority over the nation.

When the council was come to Kilkenny, some noblemen and many of the gentry who feared very much that the resolute answer returned to the lords justices by the trumpeter would cut off all hopes of treaty for the future, humbly represented to them by the earl of Castlehaven and Sir Robert Talbot, their sense of the inconveniencies which probably would arise from the rejection of such an overture, though accompanied with circumstances which they had just cause to resent, and made it their earnest suit to them, to consider this as an action than which none could have happened more acceptable to their enemies, who having at all times and upon all occasions misrepresented them to the king, might now charge them with contempt of his favour and his gracious desire to hear their grievances: the council were by that same time assured in private that the words they so much excepted against were copied out of the king's letter, although they were inserted in the safe conduct after such manner as they might be well taken for the words of the lords justices, wherefore seeing now the king was become the party with whom they were to contest, and that it could not be imagined they could be retracted, they began to consider how the treaty might again

gain be ſet on foot, though they ſtill continued to pretend an averſion to it without the injury done to the nation might be repaired, that ſo by being thought to have condeſcended unwillingly to the importunity of the many applications which by the private encouragement of ſome of their own number were daily made to them, they might conſerve the good opinion already gained among the northern men, who by the reaſon of the declaration made in parliament, ſetting forth their taking of arms traiterouſly and rebelliouſly as before is mentioned, believed themſelves moſtly concerned in thoſe expreſſions.

When the council had thus publiſhed their reluctancy, they agreed upon letters to be ſent to the commiſſioners, wherein not receeding expreſly from the reſolution they had firſt taken, and the indignation they conceived againſt thoſe words, which they would not yet acknowledge to have proceeded from any other than the lords juſtices, they notwithſtanding invited the commiſſioners to join with them in removing all the obſtacles which might bring any hindrance to the executing of their commiſſion, and thereby gave way to a ſecond overture; the commiſſioners likewiſe who were men of intereſt and eſtate in the nation, being deſirous on their part to prevent the miſchiefs of a civil war, and the deſolation of the kingdom, wrote a letter to thoſe of the council, before the receipt of theirs (for the two letters bare date the nineteenth of February, one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-two)

two) by which they assured them that the words excepted against were taken verbatim out of the king's letter, and by leaving the place of meeting to their choice, expressed a willingness to proceed to the execution of their commissions; however they omitted not to let them know that they still took those advertisements given them by way of premonition to be in themselves fit, thereby renewing what they had formerly written, concerning the number, quality and behaviour of those that were to be sent to deliver their grievances; as for their behaviour it was expected it should be submissive in the presence of those who were the king's commissioners, and the number likewise was to be competent, not exceeding theirs, and it was soon determined that it was fit to give them satisfaction in those particulars, but the debate concerning the quality of those to be sent, which tended to the exclusion of ecclesiastical persons, took up some time, yet it was at length resolved that this was not to be insisted upon, for the king's inclination to popery, being one of those calumnies whereof his enemies made the greatest use to incense the people against him, it was judged very improbable that the commissioners would admit of any thing which might give a colour for increasing that obloquy; and these difficulties being overcome, they caused the grievances to be drawn up, and authorized the lord viscount Gormanstown, the lord baron of Upper Ossory, Sir Lucas Dillon, knight, Sir Robert Talbot, baronet,

net, Tirlaugh O'Neale and John Walsh, esquires, to attend the execution of the said commission, and to present their grievances, desiring (and if the commissioners thought it fit) the 17th of March, and Trim should be appointed the time and place of meeting; and this being assented unto, they by their commission authorized them to proceed.

The lords justices, ever since the receipt of the king's letters, by which they were required to give the commissioners their best aid, furtherance, and assistance, were of the mind that the king was resolved to take some speedier and more favourable way than arms, to reduce the Irish to his obedience, which was a course, to which it was conceived they were very averse, especially Sir William Parsons, who knew the hatred the nation bare him, and feared to have those heavy charges renewed against him in a free parliament, which, for the present, seemed to be buried in oblivion; and both of them, as it was generally believed, favouring the party in the parliament of England, which stood in opposition to the king, joined in their desires to help their friends, by finding out a way to divert the succours which his majesty might hope to draw out of Ireland upon such a settlement; and because they conceived this could best be effected, by letting the king see how weak the catholicks were, and how unable to assist him, they resolved upon an expedition to the county of Wexford, where besides enriching their soldiers with booty,

booty, they made little doubt of carrying the town of Rofs, and they meant to derive fuch arguments from the fuccefs of that enterprize, as would hinder the king from accepting of any fubmiffion from them: or in cafe he fought to reclaim them otherwife than by force of arms, would, in favour of their party, increafe the odium of the people againft him, for having extended any mercy to thofe who had been characterred malicious and inhuman murtherers of the Englifh that lived amongft them; and fuch, whom they then would have rendered fo defpicable, as that, without fuch an interpofition, they muft have been fuddenly overcome.

It likewife happened very opportunely, to confirm them in their refolution, that the lord of Ormond was fallen fo fick, as they were verily perfuaded he would not be able for a long time to attend the conduct of the army; and then the lord Lifle, a man of the fame principles with them, and of the fame affections to the party (which oppofed the king) as general of the horfe, was to command in chief; and he believed, that befides the honour which would redound to him by the action, he might fo win upon the foldiers, enriched by the fpoils of the country, as to affect him beyond the lord of Ormond, and fo prepare the army to fight againft the king, for the king and the parliament, by which word the quarrel was then diftinguifhed; wherefore, provifions of all things neceffary were made with very great diligence and alacrity, and monies were defigned

for

for the equipage of the officers. And now the army was in a posture to march, when the lord of Ormond, who was daily informed of all that passed, and was wary how to acknowledge any disposition in himself, towards the recovery of his health, though he was not only past danger, but in the way to some strength, finding all things in a readiness, came unexpectedly to the council board; and after having heard many feigned congratulations for his health, and seeming apprehensions, that he had exposed himself to a relapse, by his so sudden coming abroad into the air, having taken his seat amongst them, he began to let the lords justices know, that having understood with what zeal and care of his majesty's service, their lordships had furnished all befitting accommodations for an expedition against the enemy (he would not, whatever became on it) be wanting to that part of his duty, which his honour, and their good example, called upon him to execute: the regard which the lords justices professed to have of his health, was all they could alledge to divert him from the enterprize; but that being an argument, which he told them he was ready to overcome with the hazard of his life, they gave over to press it, and retired how to contrive to cross a design, which they had been at so much expence to advance, for no other reason, than that it was to be managed by a person who had devoted himself inseparably to promote the king's interests; and that they missed of preferring one of their faction

faction to conduct it. Thus we see how uneven the publick ways of statists are, that take not justice for their guide; and how ill-favoured windings and turns that man is forced to make, who in the management of publick affairs is led by his own private interests; and although such offences must be allowed to plead a long prescription, and that our posterity can hope for no privilege, by which they may be exempted from them, yet the consideration of that original blindness in us, occasioned by the prevarication of our first parents, may well induce us to bemoan their estate, whom God hath given up to the councils of their own desires, so far as to be ignorant, or not to acknowledge, by their actions, that there are certain obligations of duty, and principles of honour and honesty, by which the actions of men are to be guided, and those so fixt and unalterable, as a long lived vengeance persecutes those that wander from them, in quest of some poor ends, which are not acquired without immoderate disquiet of mind, nor can be possest with any such assurance, as excludes all the fear of being deprived of them, and must certainly be left behind in a very short time. But to return to what we had in hand.

The lords justices, in favour of what they had designed, gave private directions for stopping the monies intended to be given the officers for their equipage: this, indeed, was the occasion of much murmur amongst them; yet it was so far from conducing to that end for which it was intended,

intended, that the officers who bore a great affection to the lord of Ormond, under whose command they gained the battle of Killrush, and made other successful and beneficial expeditions, and whose table and purse were always open to them, rather seemed well satisfied to have found an occasion to testify their readiness to serve under his conduct, what straights soever they were driven unto; wherefore, having first with a soldierly liberty inveighed against the faithlessness of the lords justices, who went about to defraud the officers of what was once intended for them, they repaired to the lord of Ormond, and intreated him to believe that this withdrawing of the lords justices benevolence, how necessary soever it might be for them, should be no impediment to their march, since he had health to lead them, they had willed to follow him upon any enterprize he would undertake, without reflecting upon their condition; the lord of Ormond thanked them for their so hearty expressions of their love to him, and told them, that he hoped the times would be such, as he might be able to render them some other proof of his gratitude, than a bare acknowledgment of the affection they bare him; and seeing, said he, that we are to be fellow fighters, it is reasonable there should be no distinction of purses; therefore, gentlemen, said he, while it lasts in mine, think yourselves rich; and when we are poor alike, we have good swords, a large country, and many enemies; but you are to stay here a

while,

while, and ſend for the reſt of our comrades, the diſappointed officers, that at leaſt we may make our grievances known to thoſe who are able to redreſs them. After all of them were gathered thither, and that he underſtood that the lords juſtices were ſat in council, he walked in the head of them, to the council-chamber door, and ſent in word by one of the uſhers, that he was there, with the officers of the army, to demand audience: anſwer was returned, that the lords deſired he ſhould enter and take his place among them, that as a counſellor he might hear what the officers had to ſay, and join in conſulting what anſwer was fit to be given; to this he replied, that he ſtood there in the capacity of lieutenant-general of his majeſty's army, and that he was unfit to be judge, as being a party, and intereſted in the ſame requeſt; whereupon, all of them were admitted. Then he began with great ſubmiſſion to the king's authority, in the perſons of thoſe whom he knew to be his enemies; firſt, to declare the valour, the fidelity and ſucceſs with which thoſe officers ſerved the king, and their ready obedience to his command, notwithſtanding the great hardſhip they had ſuffered, and the extream wants which they were often compelled to undergo. Then he bemoaned his own misfortune, ſaying, it was hard if the affection which the officers bare him, ſhall not only encourage them to ſupport many inconveniencies, which perhaps are not always ſought to be prevented, but that they ſhould now for his ſake,

and when he is to execute his charge in the head of them, be deprived of that little which was designed for them; and concluded, seeing it was very evident, his majesty's service, his own honour, and those gentlemens necessary supply, were highly concerned in the retrenchment he understood their lordships were to make, it was fit he should be dispensed with to accompany the officers to fetch the money from the place where he knew it was laid up, which he had much rather do by their warrant, than that of unavoidable necessity: and so taking his leave, he retired to his own house in the same company; not executing suddenly the resolution he had taken, for he was of the mind, when the lords justices should fall to consider how acceptable the action would be to those who had the power of the sword, and were to use it in their own cause, they would change their opinion, and suffer themselves to be led by this new way of persuasion; nor did he take his aim amiss, for the lords justices soon after sent to let him know, that although, by giving order for making those payments, they should be compelled, for want of means, to lay aside the thought of another design of very great consequence; yet they had, upon his lordship's request, directed the monies should be given to the officers for their equipage. This difficulty being overcome, he appointed the time for the army to march, and order was taken to have the provisions come about by sea to Duncannon, there to be carried up the river, to supply them when

they

they should be encamped before Ross; for besides, that they wanted waggons and horses to bring them by land, the ways were so stony and uneven, both in the counties of Catherlough and Wexford, by which they were to pass, as the army must have marched slowly to attend them; and they were persuaded, that expedition was necessary in their case, the whole party that consisted of three thousand foot, and six or seven hundred horse, and had with them two pieces of cannon, came in three days march to Timolin, which stands in the road from Dublin to Laughlin, some three miles from Castledermot, upon a passage, which, without taking a great circuit about, cannot be avoided; the strength of the place, as to the works, consisted in no more than an old castle, and a tower of stone that stood at such a distance, as they flanked one the other, and some irregular fences of earth cast up in haste, but it was fortified with fourscore stout men, under the command of . . . who being summoned, would not yield, and being demanded free and undisturbed passage for the army, would not afford it; upon this refusal fatal to themselves, but of great advantage to the confederates, who by the interruption given by the enemy at Timolin, had some respite to gather their forces; thereupon, the ordnance was planted, and the castle began to be furiously battered; the besieged, in the mean time, doing notable harm to the enemy, and retiring still when any part of the castle was shaken and fell,

to that which remained ſound of it. At length, the marquis of Ormond ſeeing them reduced to the laſt extremities, and offering, with undaunted courage, to defend themſelves, ſent to give them quarter; which when they had accepted, and left their poſt and arms, they were cut in pieces by the lord Liſle's regiment, ſome ſay by his direction; colonel Warren, a gallant gentleman, who was an officer in it, ſtriving, but in vain, to appeaſe the incenſed ſoldier.

From hence they marched to Laughlinbridge, as if they meant to paſs the river of the Barrow, when turning ſuddenly to the left-hand, through Newtown, and the mountainous parts of the county of Catherlough; and paſſing the river of the Slane at the forlorn hope was at the gates of Roſs, the 11th of March 1642, by eight of the clock in the morning, ſo unexpectedly, that the gates ſtood open, which being ſhut when the enemy was in ſight, a trumpet advanced to demand a parley; Mr. Nicholas Fitz-Harris, who, by the title of ſovereign, exerciſed the charge of chief magiſtrate of the town, coming to the market-gate, with five or ſix of his aldermen, aſked what he had to ſay, his anſwer was, that the earl of Ormond, lieutenant-general of his majeſty's army, ſent him to demand the ſurrender of the town, and to offer fair quarter to the inhabitants; to this the ſovereign replied, that they were the king's loyal ſubjects, that they kept the town for his majeſty, and would not capitulate for the ſurrender of it

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to the earl of Ormond, or any other, and immediately put up their colours. Not long after, the army being drawn up in the view of the town, a ſecond ſummons was ſent them, and they being conſtant in their firſt anſwer, they pitched their tents, and ſat down before it that night.

Ross is ſeated upon the deſcent of a hill, on the eaſt-ſide of the river of the Barrow, not far from the place where the river of the Nore falls into it, and contributes to make the ſtation of ſhips of great burthen more commodious, which may unload their freight at the quay. It is no otherwiſe fortified, than with a large dry ditch, and an old ſtone wall with turrets, with the earth caſt in manner of a rampart to the back of it. The buildings do not anſwer the large walls; and it was no ordinary confidence in the inhabitants, who were not numerous, conſidering the extent of ground they were to defend, to return ſo reſolute an anſwer; but the hopes they had of being relieved, and the little probability there could be for the enemies being able to hinder their receiving of ſuccours from the other ſide of the river, at any time when they were ſent them, encouraged the townſmen exceedingly, who neither had officers nor ſoldiers at ſuch an exigent; but their expectation had been fruſtrated, if fortune, which ſeldom miſſes to have a part in any enterprize of conſequence, had not been favourable unto them, which happened thus:

At this very time, lieutenant-general Purcel, who by that title commanded the army of Munster, under general Barry, had drawn a party of fifteen hundred men to a body, with design to surprize Caperquin, situated in the county of Waterford, upon the north-side of the river of Black-water. The place was of great importance to be taken, as well for the prevention of excursions of the garrison, by which the country was much annoyed; as also for gaining a passage over the river which it commanded. And now they were ready to execute that enterprize, when they received advertisement from the council, of the enemies approach to Ross, and orders for their speedy march to their relief of it, which they performed with so much alacrity and diligence, that in two days after the enemies sitting before the town they came thither; but general Preston, had before their arrival, sent in three hundred foot, under the command of colonel Arthur Fox, who, together with the town companies, and the inhabitants of all ages and all sexes, that without apprehension of danger ran to the breach, repelled several smart assaults given the town; mean while the lord of Ormond, who observed, by the resistance which was made, that the carrying of the town would be a work of some time, and was informed, that the provisions which had attended the army in their march, were almost spent, sent colonel Stephens, who then commanded his guard, with fourscore horse to Duncannon, to hasten their supply of victuals

victuals and ammunition, which he believed to have arrived there long before: but those of the fort were strangers to any intention in the lords justices, to send shipping thither with provisions; and so ignorant of the nearness of the army, and the siege laid to Ross, that they shot at their own party, and used colonel Stephens as an enemy, who brought them some cattle he had taken by the way, which the lord Esmond commanded then in Duncannon, received very thankfully, that place being likewise distressed for want of victuals. The next day, two frigates, appointed to beat on the town with their ordnance, and to interrupt the entrance of supplies by the ferry, the tide and wind favouring them, came up the river, and anchored as high as the Franciscan monastery, to the no little consternation of the townsmen, who apprehended most danger that side. But general Preston having given orders for planting two field pieces, which that very night were conveyed to him from Kilkenny, upon the shore, the lesser of the two frigates was sunk; and the other so shattered, as the men in her, having saved some little brass guns, were forced to receive the other side in their boat, to the no small advantage of the army in the battle, which was fought five days after, where some expert gunners amongst them behaved themselves with so much dexterity, as they contributed much to the victory which the lord of Ormond gained over the enemy.

Upon the return of colonel Stephens, it was unanimously determined, in a council of war, they should rise from the siege; for now they had received certain intelligence, that the Irish army, consisting of five thousand foot, and six hundred horse, had passed the river by the bridge of Graige; and the difficulty of carrying Ross, suddenly was increased, by the daily access of Irish forces: for now, not only the men lieutenant-general Purcell brought with him got into town, but lieutenant-general Cullen came in with three hundred more of the Leinster lift; nor were they furnished with more provision than would serve them for six days; and they saw themselves disappointed of those which they relied upon from Dublin; and for an addition to the streights to which they were reduced, this befel them at a time when all the country was fled, and all preys were driven out of their reach, and when it was dangerous sending forth of parties, the enemy being in his march, and on the same side of the river with them: wherefore, drawing off their ordnance, they marched four miles from Ross towards Polomonly, when discovering the enemy, that came straight upon them, they drew up on a rising ground, which to the front of it had a plain of no great extent, and beyond that a narrow passage, by which the Irish, in their advance towards them, must have marched. The English being put in the order wherein they were to fight, continued in that posture from ten until two of the clock in the afternoon.

afternoon. The Irish, in the mean time, drew up on that spot of ground which had that narrow passage we have already mentioned, to the back of it, and setting it thicker with men than bare proportion with the place. At length the forlorn hopes met at both sides, and the Irish were beaten back to their body; immediately the ordnance played from the eminence where they were planted, upon the first squadron of horse which advanced within reach, and that with such success, as they were forced to break their ranks, and having no room on the ground whereon they were, either to retire orderly or to rally, and being placed in the head of the foot, they forced their way back, and disordered the army; upon sight whereof, the English were commanded to advance, and charging those home smartly who were already discomposed, defeated entirely the Irish army, yet with a very inconsiderable loss for so great a victory, there being scarce one hundred men slain upon the place; for as the narrowness of that passage, and the ill choice which was made by the Irish of the place to fight on, did much conduce to the gaining of the battle; so the English were not willing to engage themselves in pursuit of the enemy beyond it, lest some accident should happen, which might render it as fatal to them as it had been to the Irish. But while the foot, and a few horse that stood with the lord of Ormond, were intent upon this action, the lord Lisle, and the rest of the troops, possessed with a panick fear,

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ran away from the flying and pursued enemy; and a man might make a pleasant observation upon the capriciousness of fortune, and the different dispositions of men, that saw the lieutenant general, and the general of horse of the same army, the one labouring to rescue some officers of note among the discomfited enemy, who had been made prisoners, from the fury of the soldier; and the other, in his flight, offering ten pounds for a guide to Duncannon, when the kingdom, at that time, could not have afforded him a more secure place of retreat, than that whereon the battle was fought: some likewise, that never dreamt of turning their faces that way, as Sir Thomas Lucas and his troop were borne away by the torrent, but having disengaged himself, he returned suddenly, and encountering with lieutenant-general Cullen, who left Ross, to be present at the battle, in the head of a troop, with which he broke through all resistance as far as the ordnance; he was there desperately wounded. At this encounter, lieutenant-general Cullen, and Mr. Beverly Brutton, a valiant English gentleman, and well beloved of all that knew him, being at the same time made prisoners, and the army defeated, it was Mr. Brutton's hard fortune to have been soon after massacred by some rude incensed soldiers; and lieutenant-general Cullen was now ready to follow him, when the lord of Ormond coming by chance that way, with some difficulty, and not without telling them that he was a prisoner of another nature,

ture, and was to be made an example, rescuing him from their violence and fury, committed him to the charge of an officer, that had care to defend him from the rage of the common soldier, when all was appeased. Those that fled from the victory being returned to the camp, and thanks given for the success upon the place of the battle, they marched to Dublin.

Here we may consider the turns and windings of human actions, and admire the abyss of God's prudence in the event of what now happened, for his ways are far different from the ways of man; success guides us to the comtemplation of his infinite wisdom, because certitude and justice never fail to accompany his decrees; and then we begin to contemplate the order and means observed by him in the execution of some particular design, when we see his will executed, I say some particular design, because that although we discover his will so far, yet we know not what he would be at, or in what manner that event is to serve him, towards the execution of some greater design. Battles have been lost to the advantage of the conquered party: and kingdoms taken to the ruin of the conqueror. Nations have been dispersed to return more unanimous and happy, and kings have been deposed to rise more glorious. But with man it is far otherwise; we may make perfect judgment upon the efficacy of the means, and the abilities of the person conducting any affair, without grounding them upon, nor directing our knowledge

ledge by the event; for although it be necessary, that the success of any great action should be in our light, before we be positive in our censure, since it happens very frequently in a design, which is carried with service, and managed by a few hands, that those means, which considered apart without that coherence which is between them and the rest, and without any relation to the accomplishment of the designed, are conceived improbable and unlikely, are found, when all things are laid open, the means only proper for that end; although, I say it be necessary, we should first see the conclusion of what is designed to prevent our judgments from being hasty and rash; yet the event conduces no further to the applause or reproof of the person conducting such a design, than, as it discovers all the means used by him, were useful and proper for attaining that end; and thence it proceeded, as is written of Cologny, admiral of France, that his name grew famous after the loss of battles: so contrary the success sometimes is to the judgment which ought to be made upon the action. But in the battle fought near Ross, there wants nothing either in the event, or in the means, which may not induce us to conclude the action reprovable. The English army had but three days victuals when they fought; and Carlow, the nearest of their garrisons, was twenty miles distant, and they must have marched through a country so uneven, so full of bogs, and in other parts so stony, that almost at every

miles

miles end there was a paſſage, which they muſt have forced at great diſadvantage; they made choice of the ground, and had time to conſider how to make the beſt uſe of it; they had ordnance, which the Iriſh wanted: of the other ſide, the army of the confederates was plentifully ſupplied, in a country entirely at their devotion; and yet they who might have pitched the field where they liſted, in the extent of twenty miles, and incommoded the enemy by parties, and keeping of paſſes, as often as they pleaſed, marched up to find thoſe men in the ſtreight of the ground they had choſen, whom famine infallibly would in a few hours have driven upon them, how advantageous ſoever the place was where they would have encamped, without ſtaying (ſo confident were they) for Sir James Dillon's regiment already paſſed the river, and drawing up their horſe in a ſpot of ground, whence being engaged, they could hardly move to fall into any order, and where they could beſt ſtand as a mark for the enemies ordnance, and placing the groſs of their forces ſo directly behind thoſe ſquadrons of horſe, as if they had aimed to have them broken by their own men, if any diſaſter did befal them, all theſe errors had not been excuſable; even though the party beaten ſhould have got the day: but when the ſucceſs was ſuch as we have related it, that perhaps might have multiplied the overſights, and prevented thoſe, which are no mean ones, in a greater letter. Much was ſpoken by thoſe who were friends

friends of general Preſton, to extenuate the miſcarriage, as if he had been compelled by the importunity of the lord viſcount Mountgarret, of lieutenant-general Cullen, of colonel John Butler, and others, to fight that day; and I believe thoſe officers, and others, were forward for it: but when the lord of Mountgarret, who belike did not concur in this ſolicitation, propounded in the next aſſembly, to have the occaſion of that defeat examined; the ſole reaſon which the general alledged, was his being miſinformed concerning the ſituation of the place, omitting (as I believe) that circumſtance of importunity, and thinking it did not much conduce to his juſtification, and this alledged by him was of as little efficacy to excuſe the temerity of his uncircumſpect conduct.

As ſoon as the council of the confederates had given order for the march of lieutenant-general Purcell, and the party with him, to the relief of Roſs, they removed their reſidence to Clonmel, both to be a countenance to the province whence they had drawn them, and to prevent the evil effects which might ariſe from the correſpondency which they certainly knew to be entertained by the city of Limerick, with the lord of Inchiquin and the earl of Thomond; immediately upon their arrival there, they diſpatched Sir Daniel O'Brien and Mr. George Commin, two of their members, to Limerick, with directions to confirm the party faithful to the government, in their reſolutions to uphold it, to dive into the

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bottom of what was agitated; and to make way, that the council might be sent for thither, the men engaged in this treaty were of their number, who had the greatest power in the city; and finding the council had discovered that they held intelligence with those who were in open hostility with the catholicks; and that those gentlemen employed to town, began to render them odious, by suggesting their crime to be greater that it after appeared to be, especially to the clergy, whom they induced to be jealous of any such traffick with enemies, and men of their profession, which might perhaps tend to the disadvantage of the catholick religion, and might so alienate the council from them, as they would repute them to have fallen from the association, and fit to be persecuted as enemies themselves. The mayor, who was one that drove that trade, having those suggestions aptly conveyed unto him, and being in some apprehension of the impression discourses of that kind might give the clergy and commonalty, to avoid the greater mischief, sent copies of all the papers that past between him and those noblemen, to the council; by which they first discovered that principle of theirs, from which, during the whole course of the war, no power of the confederates, no authority derived from the king, could remove them of keeping themselves in the condition of a free state; depending so far, as pleased them upon those whom they thought fit to acknowledge their superiors; and to increase their

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traffick by an undiſturbed commerce with all men; and to this ſo patriot-like, as they believed it, and ſo popular a reſolution, they ſeldom found any oppoſition from their clergy or laity. As to the councils being invited to the city, which was inſinuated unto them, that appeared to thoſe who were looked upon as conſervators of the liberty of the people, as a new thing; and although, they could fancy nothing which might ſatisfy themſelves touching any inconvenience it might bring with it; yet continuing irreſolute, the mayor, and ſome of the aldermen, joined in a letter to the council, ſtill at Clonmel, wherein they ſeemed to be grieved at the great unhappineſs befallen them, that could not be honoured with their preſence, by means of the ſcarcity of corn amongſt them, which neceſſarily muſt have increaſed, if they repaired thither, in regard of the great concourſe to them from all parts; though the council were advertized by Mr. Comyn, that this was no feigned excuſe, and that indeed they wanted corn; yet they knew the mayor was no way diſpleaſed. This anſwer lay in his way, and they looked upon it as ſome evidence of their ambitious deſires, to be exempt from further dependency, than pleaſed them, upon any government; but it was in vain to irritate them with reſenting their proceedings; and therefore, without taking notice of their compliment, and excuſing, in a manner, their former correſpondency with the enemy, they enjoined them, for the future, to forbear it without

out licence from the board, and converted their thoughts, since they could not by garrisoning the town have it at their command; to prevent that, the townsmens applications to the earl of Thomond, who lived in their neighbourhood, and whose ancestors, at all times, had a particular influence upon the city, should do no harm to the government; they know, that however their natural inclination carried them to affect that family, yet the situation of the castle of Bunrattie, and the islands which the earl possest in the river of Shannon, were at that time the more powerful motives for such applications, as being places which might have excluded them from all traffick and commerce by sea: wherefore, they gave commission to Sir Daniel O'Brien, and Daniel O'Brien, of Daugbe, to seize on the castle of Bunrattie, and on the person of the earl of Thomond, the one an uncle, the other a near kinsman to him, both verily persuaded, that besides the advantage which should arise to the publick thereby, this would be of great benefit to the earl himself, for it was resolved in council, that if he could be thus compelled to join in their association, without touching upon his religion, he should be in the condition of their confederates; or if, without adhering to the enemy, he did continue neuter, a competent part of his estate should be set forth for his livelihood, and no declaration made, by which he should be subject to the penalty of neuters. But this design taking no effect, either by reason of the earl's

warineſs, and the conſtant guard kept in the caſtle, or the backwardneſs of thoſe employed in it, Bunrattie was given up to the parliament, and not recovered without a formal ſiege as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

At this time likewiſe while the council remained at Clonmel, the lord Clanrickard being returned from Trim, where he joined with the reſt to execute the king's commiſſion, and to receive the grievances of the confederate catholicks, there to be preſented, as you have already underſtood, convened ſome principal perſons, of the town of Galway, and moſt of the gentry of the county, to acquaint them with a letter and declaration lately brought him from the king, whereby he not only approved the lord marquis of Clanrickard his proceedings with the lord Forbes, who without authority from him came in his name, by power derived from the parliament, to demand the ſurrender of the town of Galway as hereafter we ſhall find, but alſo renewed his commands to all thoſe within the diſtrict of his government to pay him entire obedience, not omitting to expreſs an high reſentment againſt their ways, who pretend, ſays he, they readily ſerve us in rebelling againſt us, and granting him licence to repair into England, if he finds that neither his majeſty's expreſſions, nor any force that can be ſent him will be ſufficient to enable him either to inform their underſtandings, or repreſs their power, or that his preſence will not be uſeful to his majeſty's ſervice,

vice, of which it is left to his own discretion to be judge, his majesty being made confident by the care expressed by the earl in the defence and preservation of all the English in those parts, even beyond his government, and of furnishing his majesty's forces there with provisions at his own expence, particularly of Sir Arthur Blundall and Forte-faulkland, that he will not desert the place in such a time, wherein his absence may be a weakening and prejudice to his majesty's good subjects. The council who always apprehended the prejudice with a catholick nobleman of the earl of Clanrickard's power and dependance in the province of Connaught, might bring upon the association, being now advertised of this meeting, and the use he made of those letters, and declaration, and fearing withal the loss of the battle of Ross which happened not many days before, would be a great countenance to his proceedings, and shake the resolutions of many that meant to engage in their cause: they immediately sent orders to lieutenant general Bourke, who commanded the forces of Connaught, to have a wary eye over his actions; and in case he should proceed to any act of hostility, or labour any further to alienate the affections of the people from the common cause, to fall upon him as a professed enemy; and because they were of the mind that nothing would be over-acted in a matter which threatened so much danger to the confederacy, they employed Sir Lucas Dillon, one of the mem-

bers of their board, with directions to the provincial council of Connaught, to prevent so great a mischief as they foresaw would befall their province, from the influence of so active and popular a nobleman, who had this advantage beyond others to do them harm, that he professed the same religion with them, and if they might to seize on his person, to this they added their earnest request to the archbishop of Tuam, to fulminate the censures of the church against him and his adherents; but the lord of Clanrickard who conceiving it would be no prudence in him to irritate in so general a defection the much stronger part, abstaining from acts of hostility, and keeping the strength he had near him during the whole course of the war, lived in full liberty in a country where all men were unwilling to have any attempt made upon his person, and he often told me that he had still lying by him the form of an appeal, which he was ready to make use of in case of an excommunication. But it seems the archbishop was not forward to compel him to produce it, the practice of those ecclesiastical censures being not yet grown so common in Ireland as hereafter we shall find them to be, nor indeed did the council insist to press those severe courses, notice being given them that the gentry of the county of Galway returned for answer to the marquis of Clanrickard, that they were equally concerned in the good of the kingdom, and that their common grievances being returned to the king, they could

could make no particular application until his majesty's pleasure were further known. But before this nobleman was reduced to those streights, by the adherence of many of his kinsmen and followers to the confederates, and the county's failing to obey him as their governor, he had a difficulty to contend with, which was countenanced by force, and bare the face of authority, for the parliament of England that to conserve their strength intire to be employed against the king, resolving to make use of their Scottish brethren for the reduction of Ireland had not only given way to the sending over major general Monroe, with a considerable party into Ulster, but had likewise intrusted the lord Forbes, a nobleman of Scotland, by the name of lieutenant general of the additional forces employed for the reducing of Ireland, to command a squadron of twenty ships, having about two thousand landmen a-board them; this fleet being come to Kingsale at the time when captain Willoughby excited by the instigation, and furthered by the assistance of captain Ashley, whose ship rid in the harbour, had broken the pacification, and by frequent acts of hostility incensed both the town and country; who of their parts were not wholly exempt from blame; he believed that now a fit opportunity was offered for mastering the town, and being revenged on the country; and it happened about this time that a very suspicious pretence was given captain Willoughby to incline the lord Forbes to assist him in that

his design, for having not many days before marched with his troop into the country to exact somewhat that was necessary for the fort, and upon complaint of some slight extortion committed by a serjeant in the company of the lord of Clanmorish, a man well allied in the country; he beset his house and took him prisoner to the fort, and there hanged him immediately; whereupon the lord of Clanmorish soon after lighting on two or three soldiers of the fort, executed them in revenge of the injury which he conceived was done him in the person of his officer; the latter part of this tragedy, with a large relation of the daily affronts the fort had received from the town and country, and each circumstance that might demonstrate not only their actions to be malicious, but their intentions to be rebellious, being represented to the lord Forbes, and the reduction of that maritime port under the obedience of the king and parliament being made a matter of little difficulty, he set sail to prosecute that design, wherein captain Willoughby had without the privity of the lord of Clanrickard engaged him, and being arrived in the harbour of Galway, he sent the ensuing letter to the mayor of Galway.

Alexander

Alexander Lord Forbes, general of the additional forces both by sea and land, sent by his majesty, our dread sovereign lord Charles by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and the parliament of England for reducing Ireland,

To the magistrate of the town of Galway in the province of Connaught, 8th of August, 1662. [*In the original 'tis* 1662, *but it is certainly a mistake, as this transaction happened in the year* 1642.]

WHEREAS before our coming from England, we were certainly informed that by the mediation of the right honourable the earl of Clanrickard, all commotions and seeds of rebellion were appeased and stifled both in the county and town of Galway; and you as became loyal subjects, were ready according to your power, and as you should be commanded, to assist the suppressing of rebellion raised in the other provinces of this kingdom, but contrary to our expectation since our coming to this coast, we do hear you have presumptuously attempted, at least threatened the besieging of his majesty's fort, which in the judgment of charity, I do rather believe to be the acts or words of some factious spirits amongst you than of you that are magistrates, or of the body of your town, it

being a thing contrary to common sense, that men of your quality, wisdom, and gravity should be accessary, and make yourselves guilty of so treacherous a rebellion, and thereby not only hazard your lives and estates, and the ruin and loss of whatever you hold dearest, but also debar yourselves and your posterity of all hope of pardon and mercy; being doubtful therefore what to believe concerning you, I have sent these presents to reclaim you, if it be possible, to your due obedience to his majesty and the state of England, which if you testify by your humble submission, after this pattern I have sent, which is the form I am appointed to receive of any that may hope for pardon; you may be assured not only of such favour as I and those under my command can show you, both for protection and preservation of your town, but also mediate and extend my best endeavours for your full and final pardon from his majesty and parliament of England, for any of former slips, so till such time as I receive your answer, I resolve to continue

Your well wishing friend,

FORBES.

He sent likewise at the same time a safe conduct and a form of submission, which I conceive necessary to be inserted in the place.

Alexander Lord Forbes, lieutenant general of his majesty's forces by sea and land, sent for Ireland.

THESE are to signify and make known unto you mayor and aldermen, and commonalty of the town of Galway, and any other whom it may concern, that any person and persons of what quality or condition soever he or they be of, who shall be desirous to come aboard my ship now in the road of Galway, to treat with me concerning a message sent by me to them, and their humble submission by returning to their allegiance and due obedience to his majesty, and the parliament of England, may safely and freely come and return without fear or danger, or imprisonment. Given under my hand, from a board the Speedwell, this 8th August, 1662.

ALEXANDER FORBES.

The ſubmiſſion required by the lord Forbes, from the mayor and corporation of Galway.

WE the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of your majeſty's town of Galway, as we are almoſt the laſt of the Iriſh nation that did ſhow ourſelves in arms in thoſe late unhappy troubles, and have done leaſt harm to any of your majeſty's Britiſh ſubjects amongſt us, being now truly informed of your majeſty's fatherly care over us, to manifeſt our loyalty and obedience to your majeſty and the ſtate of England, under whoſe bleſſed government we have enjoyed a ſweet and long continued peace, are now the firſt that return with humility, ſubmitting ourſelves and eſtates to your majeſty's mercy, vowing and proteſting that what we have done that may now be interpreted rebellion, hath out of the ſimplicity of our hearts been done, as we thought and were informed in obedience of your majeſty's commands, and our greateſt grief is that our credulity ſhould have blemiſhed your majeſty's honour either at home or abroad, which touches us nearer than the threatening of our extirpation and baniſhment from our native country, which in all likelihood cannot be eſchewed, unleſs your majeſty's unparalleled mercy ſhelter us in this extremity, and intercede for us to the parliament and ſtate of England, that our miſdemeanor may be pardoned: and in further teſtimony of our future loyalty,

we

we admit of ſuch garriſons and governors to rule us according to your majeſty's laws, as your majeſty and the ſtate of England ſhall appoint, and until we receive your majeſty's gracious anſwer, we have laid down our arms, and betaken ourſelves to be under the protection of the lord Forbes, your majeſty's lieutenant governor of the additional forces, to whom we ſhall give our beſt aſſiſtance for repreſſing any rebellion that is in any other counties, and your majeſty's anſwer of miſery and peace we humbly expect.

The lord of Clanrickard, upon the notice given him by captain Willoughby of the lord Forbes's arrival with a ſquadron of ſhips in the bay of Galway, expreſſed in his anſwer a great reſentment of the captain's prepoſterous manner of proceeding, that made him a ſtranger to any invitation given the lord Forbes, and yet would have him come to the fort to meet a perſon whom he knew not, and of the nature and quality of whoſe commiſſion he was wholly ignorant. But if the lord Forbes had any particular commiſſion from the lords juſtices, and if his lordſhip paſſing by upon other deſigns of ſervice, came into the road upon his invitation, he who was generally ſaid to have broke the pacification, knew beſt how to direct him: but when he received from the mayor the lord Forbes's letters, and the form of the ſubmiſſion demanded of the town, although he obſerved in them ſomewhat of a high nature, that was likely to exerciſe his prudence and vigilance, yet becauſe the relief of

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the fort in all events was an object always present to him, he thought fit to put the mayor in mind, that this mischief, and what would follow thereupon, might be attributed to themselves, since he had made it his principal care to prevail with the town and county, to supply his majesty's fort with competent provision, which they had neglected; but at the same time, he made many reflections, not upon the height of the style wherein he wrote, or the menaces which are seldom omitted by any that believes he may fright a people to his ends, but at the very strange and unusual way prescribed to them for obtaining pardon, which must have been had by his majesty's interceding for them to the parliament and state of England, as if the parliament were grown so absolute and independant a state, because the king had put over to them the prosecution of the war of Ireland, that they would intitle themselves thereby to the essential and inseperable character of his majesty, and afforded him that was the fountain of mercy, no other part in it, than what by his intercession must be derived from his subjects. Moreover, he was not satisfied why the lord Forbes, a Scottish man by birth, and the king's subject in another kingdom, might not with those his auxiliary forces, and under pretence of reducing rebels, not only sit down himself, but set on foot in so great distractions, a kind of dependance upon Scotland, in those parts of Ireland which lay contiguous to Ulster, where many of that nation were already planted,

planted, and where they had the countenance of an army, under the command of Monroe; and the lord Forbes's ſecond letter to the lord preſident, ſought to be conveyed by a beggar, but intercepted by the mayor, which ſpake of his power with that army; and the deſign he had laid by his aſſiſtance, and the concurrence of the ſtate at Dublin to carry all before him, favoured this jealouſy, although the project of drawing forces from divers and ſo far diſtant parts of a kingdom, where all was in combuſtion, had much of ſpeculation in it.

The lord of Clanrickard likewiſe obſerved, that this form of ſubmiſſion, whereby the townſmen were to betake themſelves to be under the protection of the lord Forbes, diſcharged them of his government, and gave them up to a ſtranger, that had no authority from the king for his proceedings; wherefore having at all times been an exact performer of his own promiſe, he reſolved to ſee the king's word inviolably kept, and to employ his uttermoſt endeavours in hindering the pacification he had made with thoſe under his government, which the lords juſtices and ſtate at Dublin, had already confirmed to be broken, that not only to be the moſt juſt, but moſt prudent courſe he could take, ſince nothing was to be gained by making his government the ſeat of war, but ſome rich booties for the fleet, with which when they were laden, they might retire and leave him ſtill expoſed to be overwhelmed by multitudes of enemies that would be drawn

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to the county of Galway from all parts to oppose this invasion, and to relieve the only town in the province which had strength to make any resistance, and the sole port in Connaught, from whence they might conveniently entertain any commerce with foreign parts. Moreover, that double declaration for king and parliament, was now grown to be suspected of all those that wished well to the king, and observed, that his name with that adjunct, expressed his royal authority to no other end than to undermine his sovereign power; and the lord of Clanrickard had cause given him to mistrust that the lord Forbes leaned too much that way, he having in one of his letters to the mayor of Galway, magnified his commission so far as to let him know that if he should proceed directly, and according to the extent of it, he needed not acknowledge any pacification.

ALTHOUGH the lord of Clanrickard was abundantly furnished with grounds of jealousy, and wanted not motives to induce him to entertain a particular distaste of the lord Forbes's his carriage, who, besides the design he set on foot to distract his governmeut, in several of his letters expressed himself to the mayor of Galway, in such a manner, as men might see he slighted their governor, yet he would not oppose himself single to his proceedings, and therefore made his application to the lord president, who, by the direction of the lords justices and state, was appointed to assist him when occasion should be offered, and was a person that laboured contrary

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to the maxims of many then in government, to ſettle the far-ſpread diſtempers, without involving the ignorant and criminal in one common ruin, or giving way to the enriching of particular men with the ſpoils of publick rapine; and he found not only him (whom his own inclination, and the judgment he made upon the defection which would follow in the town and county of Galway, in caſe the lord Forbes's menaces ſhould break out into acts of hoſtility) willing to prevent that miſchief, but the reſt of the commanders in the Engliſh garriſons, very ſenſible of the further deſign of thoſe additional forces, put under the command of a Scotch nobleman, many altercations and paper conteſts paſt in the mean time, between the lord Forbes and the mayor of Galway, the one in height of language, preſſing the admittance of a garriſon, as the ſole teſtimony fit to be given of their loyalty; the other in the moſt ſubmiſſive expreſſions, keeping himſelf cloſe to the pacification, and putting of any thing that was difficult to be reſolved by their governor, ſtill ready to give the lord Forbes all ſatisfaction concerning the juſtice of their complaints againſt the captain of the fort, but humbly declining to allow of him as judge in prejudice of their governor. At length the lord Forbes, impatient that the lord Clanrickard, who all the while expected the lord preſident's coming up to him, ſhould ſo long defer his repair to Galway, landed his men on the weſt ſide of the town, and raiſing a battery near our

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Lady's church, planted two pieces of cannon there, and burnt several villages in the neighbourhood, thinking thereby to strike terror in the inhabitants of Galway, and so force them to such conditions as he conceived reasonable, and he had already proposed; but the townsmen being conscious to themselves of their own strength, and well assured that the lord Clanrickard would act nothing against them whereof they might complain as a breach of the pacification, daily became more and more resolute, according as those menaces grew ineffectual and familiar unto them. In this posture the lord of Clanrickard and the lord president found them, and as they were near the town, they meet in their way with a letter from the lord Forbes, desiring him to come to the fort, and alledging as a reason for his not complying with the invitation given in a former letter by the lord of Clanrickard, to come to his house of Tyrellane, not a mile from thence, that his charge could not permit him, and that captain Willoughby, (who must not leave the fort) could not be present with him; the lord president made no difficulty to go the fort, but the lord of Clanrickard endeavoured to dissuade him, alledging that the lord Forbes's declining the meeting at Tyrellane, was a greater disrespect to both of them, and argued much pride or distrust, or both, considering the length of the way his lordship was come, the place where his ships rode at anchor within the limits of his government, and the step he

he was to make without the least shadow of danger. That captain Willoughby could for his own pleasure, or to do mischief, ride many miles into the country with his trumpet; and now, when there was question of coming but once the way to the president of the province, or him, the governor of the town and county of Galway, he must not leave the fort. That for his part, he was sensible of the affronts and disrespects of captain Willoughby towards him in many particulars, and especially in calling in the lord Forbes into his government, without his advice or knowledge, and that of his lordship's high expressions both to himself and to the mayor of Galway, and of his assuming a power in a manner to wrest him out of his government; and that he was so well informed of the great distance between the king and parliament, and their hatred to all of his religion, though never so faithful, as appeared by their total neglecting of him ever since the beginning of those distractions, that he could not think it either safe or honourable to put himself into their power, until he should find they were better inclined, and would observe those rules which they two should think fit to prescribe.

The lord president, without endeavouring to answer or remove his apprehensions, which he conceived to be just, being himself no way concerned in the grounds of those distrusts, resolved to see the success of what he designed to act, and leaving the marquis of Clanrickard at Tyrel-

lane, went himself immediately to the fort, accompanied with justice Donnellan, where having spent the day without being able to approach in any nearness towards the composing of differences, he returned that night to Tyrellane, where he found the marquiss of Clanrickard much more exasperated, by a letter received that morning from the lord Forbes, and the burning of some villages on the sea-coast belonging to him, and the killing of some women and children, the lord president being then in the fort, labouring to remove jealousies and misapprehensions. Upon sight of the letter and knowledge of those acts of hostility, the lord president weighing the earnestness with which those of the fort pressed the lord of Clanrickard's coming thither the next day; and their unwillingness to declare their intention until they meet, began to entertain some umbrage of such proceedings, and know not how to offer to divert the lord of Clanrickard from the resolution he had taken, nor to interpose further in that treaty; and leaving the lord Forbes and captain Willoughby to their own designs, he meant to return back to Loughreagh; yet, because he would leave nothing unattempted, which might conduce to make up a breach which he feared would in the consequence be fatal to the province he governed, he entreated the marquiss of Clanrickard to make a halt by the way, while he, for a farewel, went to tell them in the fort what prejudice he foresaw would befal the service by their want of compliance, and

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that himself had some sense of the pains he had taken in travelling so far to so little purpose. In the mean time the marquiss of Clanrickard, who, notwithstanding the affronts he conceived to have been done himself both by the lord Forbes and captain Willoughby, and some particulars in this last letter, for which so delicate a sense as he had of his honour and loyalty, may be excused to have found an interpretation, that put him into a passion, neglecting not to make use of his power with the town and country commissioners, in bringing them to condescend to such a proportion of relief for the fort, as came not far short of the captain's demand; and sending this instrument of their offer, signed by the commissioners, into the fort, he expected on a hill in his way the return of the lord president, who found those in the fort (upon the report of the lord of Clanrickard's resolution to put himself to no further trouble in mediating an agreement) very much changed: and now the lord Forbes thought fit to send two of his chief officers, in company with the lord president, to excuse the burning of those villages, by laying the blame upon some ignorant seamen, that took the place they landed for the enemy's country, yet promising that for this outrage, having been done without direction, the offenders should receive punishment; that as for the letter, he would not justify his expression, which might be subject to mistake, but his intention was with all honour and respect to him, and that for captain Willoughby, he seemed satisfied with the proposition

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sion and offers of the country. The marquiss of Clanrickard, glad to find those obstructions removed, that might have hindred peace and quiet in his government, went nearer the fort, at the entreaty of the lord Forbes, and after a personal meeting, and mutual civilities and congratulations for their acquaintance, he and the lord president returned late that night to Loughreagh, and the lord Forbes with his squadron of ships, soon after put to sea, though captain Willoughby was said to have sought new occasions of a breach to engage his stay, and that himself seemed not to be so well satisfied when he parted; however, the lord of Clanrickard, by his letters to the lords justices, and the said Forbes himself, did not omit to speak in the language of the friendship he had contracted with him at his last interview.

Thus having followed the course of the history, in relating divers results of such councils as were embraced by those in government, I have deferred to insert this enterprize of my lord Forbes's longer than I ought to have done, time being only regarded; but I conceive uninterrupted discourse might recompense my being less exact in the computation of a few months: and now I shall repair to Leinster, where we have left general Preston, who having not made use of the visible advantages that lay before him, and by his conduct put the enemy into a way that led him to that signal victory he obtained at Ross, passed the most part of his beaten army by the bridge of Graige over the Barrow, the very night

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of the defeat, and joining to Sir James Dillon's regiment, which had not been in the fight, was grown to so considerable a body, that keeping the river still between him and the enemy, moved with them; and to mitigate the peoples grief for so great a distaster, a report was spread that he marched in pursuit of the lord of Ormond, with intention to fight him before he came to Dublin; but this entertainment given the multitude being soon ended, the general began to apply himself seriously to some enterprize which might in some measure repair the affront he had received, and there appeared none to him, which for many reasons was fitter to be undertaken, than the siege of Ballinakilly, seated upon the edge of the county of Kilkenny, but eight miles distant from that city, which was the place of the council's ordinary residence, and environed with a country which for the most part was at the devotion of the confederates; but although it was evident that the happy success of the action would be much applauded, yet some such difficulties were to be overcome in the execution of it, as if fortune had not unexpectedly concurred to the accomplishment of the work, it was to be feared that men might have occasion given them to say that this siege was as improvidently laid, as the battle was rashly fought. Ballinakilly was a colony of English planted there by Sir —— Ridgway, who was vice-treasurer in Ireland in the reign of king James, and by him made earl of Londonderry. It is seated among woods, in a

place so watered with springs, as afforded the earl conveniency to make many fish-ponds near the castle he built there, which he likewise fortified with a strong stone wall, and that with turrets and flankers; besides that the town since it had been planted was well inhabited, the iron mill there kept many men at work; and all these, together with such of the English as were tenants of the manor, or in their neighbourhood, when first the unbridled multitude, casting off all obedience to the government, began to pillage; the protestants repaired thither, and added to the strength of the place many new works, filling them with water, which the ground naturally afforded in great plenty; so as there being no want of provisions of all kinds, the place might well have been judged impregnable against an army that without ordnance came to besiege it.

However the lord of Mountgarret might have been excused in not giving his consent to the battle of Ross, yet not only his advice, but his earnest desire concurred to the siege of Ballinakilly; for the interest of his estate, which meared upon it, and the quiet of his tenants, who were much infested by the daily excursions of that garrison; and the general was the more willing to try his fortune, and not to be deterred by the improbability of the success, that he was sure the forces under his command could suffer no want, how long soever he might be forced to sit before the place, by reason of the power the lord of Mountgarret

garret had in the county of Kilkenny, whence the army was to be supplied; wherefore having summoned the castle, after some smart sallies made in several quarters, he sat before it with that animosity of both sides, that the besieged flung out into the camp the heads of some of the besiegers whom they had killed, and the besiegers staked up in the like manner some of the heads of the besieged in the sight of the castle; but we must leave the general here advancing but slowly in his enterprize, until we convey him means from Spain to compass his design.

We have formerly mentioned that the supreme council made it part of their first care to employ agents into foreign parts, to implore such assistance as they persuaded themselves catholick princes would liberally contribute to maintain their common cause. Of those thus designed, father James Talbot, of St. Augustine's order, was appointed for Spain, and a commission sent by him, wherein he was jointly intrusted with father Luke Wadding, professor of divinity in Salamanca, to agitate the affairs of the confederate catholicks in that court. Upon this application, to which care was given, and which therefore was beyond several other sollicitations in the behalf of provinces and persons then likewise on foot, preferred, because it seemed to be made by the body of the nation, twenty thousand crowns were had, and those according to the instructions given to father Talbot, were for the most part disposed in arms and ammunition-

in two iron guns of 24 pounds bullet a-piece, and an iron mortar-piece; and by strange conjuncture of accidents, the ordnance which was to be instrumental in the taking of Ballinakilly, was upon no such design shipped in Spain the same day the siege was laid to it, when advertisement was brought to the council of the arrival of the ship at Dungarvan, wherein father Talbot came with those provisions. They sent doctor Gerald Fennell, one of their council, and Mr. Jeffry Baron thither, to take care of so precious a commodity as her lading then was, and to see it safely conveyed to Waterford, from whence the guns and mortar piece, with all their necessaries which were brought along with them, were carried to Kilkenny, and thence to Ballinakilly, where after much time was lost, and great expence made to the general discontent of the county of Kilkenny, there was yet no appearance of carrying the place; but when the cannon began so unexpectedly to beat down part of the castle, and that a bomb falling directly on the top of the roof, broke it and the planks, partitions, and beams, two lofts under it, to the loss of some of the besieged, and terror of all; and that advertisement was brought them how colonel Crafford, who was advanced as far as Monasterevan with a strong party to relieve them, was there defeated by the earl of Castlehaven, whom the general sent with some forces to stop his passage; and that the earl in his way to Monasterevan, had cut off captain Hetherington's troop, and killed

killed himself, they conceived it fit to call for quarters, and having capitulated, to be allowed threescore muskets, and a convoy to Dublin, they gave up the place, leaving their magazines stored with provisions of all sorts, and the country freed from their excursions.

The army soon after marched to Birr, of which place Sir William Parsons was governor; there the general, for some time, met with smart resistance, but being seated in a country for the most part possest by the confederates, and the garrison having not hope to be speedily relieved, it was surrendered the 20th of January 1642, upon honourable conditions.

While fortune exercised general Preston with different success, general Owen O'Neale who arrived in the north about the time that general Preston, and the rest of the Leinster officers, came to Wexford, and was, as we have already mentioned, made general of Ulster, having met with a disaster, in an encounter with the enemy, at Clownesse, being forced to quit that province, moved with his Creaghts into Meath, and finding that Sir James Dillon, with fifteen hundred foot, and three troops of horse, had, by order of general Preston, with two field pieces and one great gun, taken up their post at Killucken; they agreed to join their forces, that so they might recover the places held by the English, and bring that country under contribution to the confederates, which they performed with no great difficulty, the English having then no forces

ces in the field, and the garrisons (except Trim and Ashby, which were too well fortified and manned to be attempted by them) being not tenantable against such a body of men that marched with ordnance. At length, upon intelligence brought them, of the lord More's march from Dublin, with four thousand foot and five hundred horse, it was resolved in council, to attempt the castle of Portleister, in which colonel Smith, with a hundred soldiers, was placed, for there being a spot of firm ground in that place, which by means of the bogs that invironed it, was scarce accessible; they considered, if they could carry it suddenly, they might, without retiring further, sit down securely, and be in a posture to stop the progress of the English; wherefore, marching with speed thither, and immediately raising a battery, the governor that understood not how near relief was to him, after three shot, had quarter, and yielded the castle the evening before the lord More came in sight. Skirmishes took up all the next day, wherein the Irish had always the advantage, to which the post they had taken, and their artillery, contributed much; among the rest, the lord More fell by the shot of a field piece, and thereupon the party commanded by him retreated. While the war is thus carried on by different parties, throughout all the provinces, pope Urban the 8th, who had already been at the expence of twenty thousand crowns, to send over colonel Preston, colonel Owen O'Neale, Bourke, and other officers,

cers, such as cardinal Grimaldi, then his nuncio in France, in whose hands the money was deposited, made choice of seeing the progress the Irish had made, conceived their actions worthy of his appearing, to countenance them publickly; and therefore, he employed Peter Franciscus Scarampus, a Neapolitan, by birth noble, and by profession in religion an oratorian, to the supreme council of the confederates, who was *by his example and admonitions, to instruct the faithful in things pertaining to the glory of God, the soundness of catholick faith, and the injunctions of the canons; as also to excite them to defend and increase the orthodox religion, and to conserve the obedience and subjection which was fit for them to pay to their king.* The arrival of this the pope's minister, whom the council that was willing men should entertain themselves, with thoughts of the reputation the nation had acquired abroad called nuncio, did not a little fortify their government, not only in drawing the laity to pay a perfect obedience to their commands, who were thought worthy of being seconded by so awful and much reverenced an authority; but in fixing the eyes of the clergy upon them, by declaring that his master was resolved not to grant any provisions at Rome, for benefices or ecclesiastical dignities in Ireland, but to such as were nominated by the supreme council: which privilege includes so much of the essence of government, that speaking morally, and with relation to those places where the clergy enjoy their

their livings, and have a free influence upon the people, it scarce can be in any foreign hand that may not think himself of power to conserve quiet, and introduce trouble at his will and pleasure; this certainly could not be better represented in little, any where, than it was in the war of Ireland; for while Urbanus lived, and the method preserved was observed, ecclesiastical persons valued themselves according to the trust they had from the council, they were happy that received their commands, and in the execution of them particular men overcame those difficulties, against which, the body of the council apprehending some affront in the success, would not appear to contend. But when the archbishop of Firmo, successor to Fa. Scarampy, began to entertain thoughts of shaking the government, and of limiting it to those principles, which his own zeal, that wanted experience, framed to himself; and those, which others, who found their condition improved by the war, and observed, that there lay no way open to their interests by peace suggested, he changed that order, and with it the submissive affections of the clergy to the established government, for it was no sooner known that promotions passed at Rome by his recommendation, but all the water ran by his channel, all pulpits spake his sense, and all the observance formerly paid to the orders of the council, was transferred to his direction; and after he had fulminated his censures against those in government, such things were acted by them, as the history

history will call upon to be inserted in their proper places; and whereof, the re-capitulation in a bulk might perhaps give way to some who may be too precipitate in their judgment, to charge me with the want of that indifferency, which I intend to observe in all the parts of this work.

While the confederates spread their jurisdiction at home, by the enlargement of their quarters, and received countenance from abroad by this mission, the distempers in England were increased to a greater height, and the forces that stood in opposition to the king, acquired very notable advantages by the taking of Reading, where Sir Arthur Ashton, who was governor, having not long before been dangerously wounded, the treaty for surrendering of it being managed by colonel Richard Fielding, the place was given up, the king's army being not far off, with intention, and with power, as it was believed, to relieve it; for which the colonel was condemned to death by a martial court, as was soon after Sir Richard Cane, for the like miscarriage, in the surrender of Hereford. Those successes, by which the adverse party acquired strength and reputation, and which consequently enlarged the distance, and rendered the hope of reconciliation more improbable, induced the king to think of drawing those forces he then had in Ireland, under the command of the lord of Ormond, to his assistance; and to make way for this, and to the end he might secure his protestant subjects, who, by reason he could not succour them out of

England,

England, daily felt the shrewd effects of the growing power of the confederates, he resolved, that a cessation from acts of hostility should be treated with the confederates, and committed the trust of managing the entrance into it, to the lord of Ormond, who knowing how much it concerned his master, both in honour and interest, that a thing of that nature should rather appear to move from the king's condescendency, to the humble address of subjects, fallen from their obedience, than from his own offer, which must have been accompanied with many circumstances, that would render it exceedingly disadvantageous unto him, took a course to see how the motion would relish with the confederates, and conveyed notice of the king's intention therein, to the lord of Clanrickard, advising him, what he thought fit to be done thereupon. There could nothing more acceptable have been transmitted to the lord of Clanrickard, than the knowledge of this, which he looked upon as a step to the preservation of his country; with much passion desired by him, and with the uttermost of his endeavours sought to be compassed; wherefore, being himself incapable to appear at the assembly of the confederates, he drew up in writing, motives for a cessation of arms, and dispersed them by such hands as made them sufficiently publick; many things intervened, which retarded the conclusion of it, from the general assembly held at Kilkenny, in May 1643, at which commissioners were appointed for the treaty,

treaty, until September after; the assembly itself having spent some weeks to contrive a constant way for settling a revenue, in some measure proportionable to the vastness of the publick charge, to which even those whose concernment it was to support the war, and knew not what it was to have revenues, before the confederates put them in possession of their benefices, did contribute with some reluctancy: and the lord of Ormond having met with many obstacles in the underhand working and thwartings of those who so much favoured the party opposite to the king, as they were ready to expose themselves, and the rest of the protestants in Ireland, to the hazard of being totally oppressed, by the still increasing power of the confederate catholicks, rather than to approve of any ways, that by securing them might enable his majesty to contend with his enemy, their patrons and friends in England, and the roots of such inclinations were fixed so deep, as the government itself must of necessity have been purged, to open a way to a design, wherein the king, and his subjects of the protestant profession, were so much interested; whereof this motion of the lord of Ormond's, at council board, is an evident proof.

"My humble motion is, that if the cessation be by the lords justices and council held dishonourable to the king, unsafe to his British and protestant subjects, and dangerous for the army, that then their lordships will be pleased, by their letters to his majesty, to signify as much, as likewise,

wise, to propose unto him some more certain, honourable, and available way, for the preservation of this kingdom, for his majesty, for the safety of his British and protestant subjects, and for the satisfaction of his army here; and upon such letters, I shall, by virtue of the authority given me, undertake to go no further in the treaty of cessation, but shall, upon such letters written, and such propositions made, at my peril break it off; and will most humbly rely on his majesty's most gracious and benign interpretation thereof; this motion of mine, I humbly desire may be entered at the council board, the 21st of June, 1643."

In the mean time, the actions of the war were prosecuted, as the several commanders judged to be of greatest advantage for their party in Munster. While the assembly sat at Kilkenny, the lord of Inchiquin sent a strong body of horse and foot under the command of Sir Charles Vavasour, into the quarters of the confederates, which now, in the absence of many of the gentry, and some of the commanders chosen to attend at that meeting, lay more open to their excursions; whereof notice being brought to the assembly, they not only dispatched away the officers of that province, but the members of the house brought each of them a voluntary contribution in money, to furnish such horse as would make tender of their service upon that occasion, so as a considerable number coming to be enlisted, General Barry left general Purcell,

Purcell, the earl of Castlehaven, the lord of Muskry, O'Callaghan, and other gentlemen of that province, marched in haste with them, to prevent the spoils and devastation which the province might have suffered by the enemy. The country being alarmed at the approach of Sir Charles Vavasour, had already drawn out some forces, to which their auxiliaries being joined, their body seemed not to be inferior in strength to that led by Sir Charles Vavasour, especially in horse, which both in number and resolution, as being chosen men, had the advantage. Both parties faced one another near Cloughleigh, a place the English had besieged two days before, and from which they rose in haste upon the near approach of the Irish. Sir Charles Vavasour's gross of horse, seconded by two hundred musqueteers, that fired excellently well upon the enemy, was advanced beyond his foot; whereupon, fourscore horse of the confederates were drawn out to charge them, when suddenly the gross of English horse began to shogg, and could not be persuaded by Sir Charles Vavasour, either to advance, or upon the matter to stand; though to countenance his horse, he had brought up his musqueteers in a line, not forty yards from them, until being charged by those fourscore horse, that having scarce made twenty shots, fell in with their swords among them; they fled into the lane behind the forlorn hope, and bearing them, and their colonel who stood with them, from the body, they ran over

and over their own fellows, so as there was no opposition made against the Irish in the execution; and the colonel being carried in the hurry of the enemies horse, was known by O'Callaghan, and after quarter given him, was preserved from the fury of the common soldier, by his very great care. The loss (whereof the colonel gave the lord of Inchiquin account) "was, says he, general and extraordinary;" and the encouragement which the barony of Barrimore and Imokilly received thereby, was not the least of the motives that induced them to withdraw themselves from the lord of Inchiquin, and to adhere to the confederates before the cessation was concluded.

In Connaught, the fort and town of Gallway were again brought on the stage, and the distance grew greater in proportion, as the provisions laid up for that important citadel began to diminish; for the captain finding, by the slow coming of relief out of England, or from Dublin, that he would unavoidably fall into extremity of famine, made excursions into the country, to fetch in some cattle, which did irritate those in his neighbourhood, especially the townsmen, whose estate being contiguous to the fort, felt oftener than the rest those which he called the effects of his necessitous condition, and to which they gave the name of unlawful and voluntary depredations; and had his attempts of this kind met with the success, which for a long time favoured him, though doubtless they would have

heaped

heaped more odium upon him, yet he had not been so soon after besieged, if a party of fifty men, sent from the fort by sea to Ireconnaught, had not, as they straggled and hunted after booty, been defeated by a stronger from the town; for those in Gallway discovering by the prisoners they had taken, the scarcity in the fort, and seeing no ships in the harbour to countenance it, the last of those appointed for that service, being sent by captain Willoughby, with his lieutenant, intrusted to solicit a speedy supply from the lord of Inchiquin; and in case that failed, to procure, that vessels might be sent to carry away, and secure the men and arms.

After this discovery, and this encouragement given the inhabitants of Gallway, they forbear no longer to give all furtherance to lieutenant-general Bourke, who with a thousand men sat before the place; and besides the forces left on the frontiers, to watch the motions of the garrison of Roscommon, he placed a strong party at Athenry, to attend upon the lord of Clanrickard, who partly by the no assistance and little countenance he received from the lords justices and state at Dublin, partly by reason of the censures meant to be fulminated against those that adhered to him, had scarce men left whom he might trust with the defence of Loughreagh and Portumna.

This nobleman being now able to contribute little more assistance towards the maintenance of the fort, than what he could procure from the

state, by representing from time to time captain Willoughby's condition, omitted not to do him all the good offices of that kind, which lay in his power, and by incessant letters now to the state for succours, now to the mayor of Gallway, in hope to alter the resolution taken to besiege the fort, or at least to delay it from being executed, in expectation of succours by sea: but the success of his several applications differed not much from his answer from Dublin, which according to the method taken up at first, and continued to the very last, contained little more than often repeated eulogies of his merits, earnest requests for his further care, and hopes of expected supplies, which never arrived to furnish him; and from Gallway, solemn protestation of their faithfulness to his majesty, and their affection to himself, and volumes of complaints against captain Willoughby were daily brought him, and at length, to his desire, that they would take notice of his majesty's declaration; the mayor, and others of the town and country, returned for answer, that the whole kingdom's grievances were transmitted to the king, and that they could not make any particular application, until his majesty's pleasure were further known; so as he now clearly saw what the fort was to trust to, succours being far off, and uncertain, and the enemy near the works, seconded by a town, which notwithstanding the streight wherein captain Willoughby found himself, was exasperated by his beating upon their walls, and piercing their

their houses for the space of almost three months before. But the lord of Clanrickard had reason to think that the threatened danger was not so near at hand, until he understood, by two letters from the captain, dated the same day, that forts were built to stop his being relieved by sea; and which was worse, that unless he were supplied within a month at furthest, he could not withstand the unresistable enemy, famine. Upon receipt of those letters, he sent his steward James Davocke, to Dublin, to press the sending of speedy succours; and in case there was no possibility to procure them, he was intrusted to move for a licence, to treat with those that besieged it, for putting the fort into his hands, it being possible, that the removal of captain Willoughby might be some satisfaction to them; and the town having at other times expressed a very great desire, that his lordship should be intrusted with the command of it. This last request was, at this exigent, passed over with silence, as it was when the lord of Clanrickard had formerly made it both here and in England, not only in order to the safe keeping of the fort, for the king's service, which he made the unalterable object of his endeavours, but to secure himself and his family in case the defection from the government, which then spread apace, should grow to be universal, being certain, that as the respect the town and country bare him, would keep it longer from being attempted in his hand, than if it were in the possession of any other; so in all

events he might with safety retire from thence into England; and his steward was dismissed, with notice, that the lords justices had received advertisement from captain Swanly, the admiral appointed for the fleet, designed to guard the coasts of this kingdom, that he had already sent provisions to the fort, and that they had appointed him to send two ships before Galway. In the mean time, the wants of the fort daily increasing, the lord of Clanrickard, who was informed that captain Brooke, who commanded the Providence, and another pinnace, was sent thither, but that their long boats, in which they endeavoured to put in supply into the fort by night, were repulsed; and that captain Willoughby was upon the point of treating, would no longer defer making an unwarrantable attempt, to prevent the bad effects which necessity might produce. He therefore took occasion to write to the lieutenant-general of the confederates of Connaught, as if captain Willoughby, out of some present wants, or the difficulty of being frequently supplied, or his observation of the bad opinion held of his proceedings, which hindered his enjoying of that command with any quiet or safety, had lately desired to treat with him concerning the delivery of his majesty's fort into his hands, the which, having been not long since the earnest petition and request of the whole country, and as he conceived, of the lieutenant-general himself, he held it then fit, to know, whether he and they did continue that resolution,

resolution, and because he would husband him, as if he no way doubted them to be still of the same mind, he sent commissioners to treat with them, but the success was such as shewed they were willing to continue his good opinion of them, by offers of their allowance, that it should be put into his hands, but with such restrictions, as they were certain he would not condescend to. And so this treaty ended, the fort being surrendered within a few days after, upon capitulation made with the lieutenant-general, and soon after demolished. From hence, the lieutenant-general, encouraged with this success, after his men had been refreshed for some time in the country, marched to Castlecoot, a place well fortified, and maintained by a garrison, that employed themselves constantly and carefully in the defence of it, until notice having been sent him of the conclusion of the cessation, he raised the siege. Before this time, the first meeting, which was appointed to be at Castlemartin, for concluding the cessation, was disappointed. Upon this occasion, general Preston hearing that colonel Munke, with a party of two hundred foot, and five troops of horse, having put in victuals, and such other necessaries as were wanting, to Croghan and Edenderry, was upon his march to Dublin, moved with a party, consisting of four hundred foot, and seven hundred horse, from Recroughan, with so great haste, and so little circumspection, that their ammunition was left behind, and they forced to make a halt by the

way, to attend the coming of it, so as colonel Munke had time to man the castle of Ballenecurry, which was the pass both of them contended to recover; and general Preston in vain, and with the loss of some men, endeavoured to seize upon, when colonel Munke had already possessed it; so as failing of his design to intercept that party, he marched to take in those castles of Croghan and Edinderry, which yielded upon quarter, as did the castle of Kinafad, and prepared to besiege Castle-Jordan, a castle well-manned and fortified, commanding a large district of the adjacent country, and belonging to Sir John Gifford, an officer of the English army. The news of the loss of those castles, and of general Preston's design to besiege Castle-Jordan, being brought to the lord of Ormond, at that time, when he was ready to put himself on his journey to Castlemartin, he brake off the meeting, and thinking it concerned him in duty to the king's service, and in honour, considering the chief command he had of the army, to interrupt those proceedings, and make it manifest, that he wanted no power to maintain his quarters; and that his ceasing from greater acts of hostility, was a benefit the confederates were to receive, as of the king's meer bounty, he marched from Dublin, with all the forces he could gather, and suddenly regained Edenderry; whereupon, the garrison of Croghan burned the place, and forsook it; Kinnafad prevented a summons, it being surrendered upon quarter, without demand.

This

This being done in the face of the Irish army, who knowing themselves overpowered in horse, declined to engage; the lord of Ormond returned to Dublin, and from thence went to Siginstown, where the commissioners of the confederates attended him with that submissive obedience in all circumstances which they were directed by the supreme council to pay to the king's authority, executed by a person faithful to his majesty and no enemy to the nation; yet while the debate upon the articles continued, parties on both sides contended to enlarge their quarters, colonel Munke made an inroad into the county of Wicklow, and the earl of Castlehaven more successfully into the county of Kildare.

We have formerly mentioned how the king's regard of the necessities and still declining state of his protestant subjects in Ireland was one of the principal motives that induced him to have an overture of cessation from actions of hostility, introduced to free them from those sufferings that lay heavy upon them, and the confederates were forward in their desires to have it concluded for these reasons:

1. They had great hopes that an entire settlement of the kingdom would soon after follow, by reason of the change which was made by the king's command in the government at Dublin, from what it was when (says an eminent person) the parliament pamphlets were received as oracles, their commands obeyed as laws, and extirpation preached as gospel: the sword having been

been taken from Sir William Parſons, againſt whom the nation had contracted an infinite averſion, and given to Sir Henry Trichborne, a man truſty to the king, valiant and moderate, and Sir Adam Loftus, Sir John Temple, and Sir Robert Meredith were of the council, being removed from their charge, and made priſoners in the caſtle where Sir William Parſons had likewiſe borne them company, but that affidavit was made that he was dangerouſly ſick, thoſe men were moved and confined upon ſome accuſation exhibited againſt them by the lord viſcount Dillon, the lord Wilmot, Sir Faithful Forteſcue, Daniel O'Neale, and Bryan O'Neal, whereof the lord chancellor, the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Roſcommon, and Sir Maurice Euſtace were authorized by commiſſion to examine the truth, and to return the king what they found by the depoſitions.

It was obvious to the confederates, that if the king, in his now declining condition, were not ſupported, the parliament, if they ſhould once become abſolute maſters of England, ſuch forces from thence and out of Scotland would be poured into Ireland, as would ſoon, by overthrowing the catholicks, put an end to the war.

They conſidered likewiſe that the tranſmiſſion of thoſe forces which upon concluding the ceſſation were to be called upon into England muſt in all advents have proved advantageous for the confederates, ſince by their preſence they would

contribute

contribute to abate the over-growth of the parliamentary party, and being absent (in case a peace or a continuance of the cessation might not be procured) they were freed from so many enemies. It was moreover considered, that Ulster, where the Scots were so powerful by the daily access of their countrymen, and the care was taken to supply them plentifully, was now in that state as the confederates of that province began to desert it, and to be a burthen to the neighbours country with their creights, and that the enemy alone, too far engaged to comply with agreements made by his majesty's authority, would afford exercise for the army of the confederates, besides they were not yet certain how far the garrisons in Connaught would submit to what was transacted by the king's commission, so as there still remained more work than probable would be finished in the space of one year, which was the time limited for the continuance of the cessation; nor were they deceived in the apprehension they had of those garrisons; and the lord of Inchiquin, whom they least mistrusted by his adhering to the parliament, gave them further employment, as we shall hereafter find in the history.

After the mutual signing of the articles of cessation in the presence of those underwritten, the commissioners of the confederates, by direction of their supreme council, presented the lord of Ormond the ensuing acknowledgment of his majesty's gracious favour done them.

To

To the king's most excellent majesty.

May it please your majesty,

WE in the name and behalf of your majesty's most faithful subjects the catholicks of Ireland, by whom we are authorized, taking into consideration your majesty's royal intentions towards us, in giving ear to our humble petition for redress of our grievances, and that your highness hath been graciously pleased to have a cessation of arms concluded in this kingdom, as an introduction to a happy peace and settlement, and withal taking into our consideration your majesty's vast expences and many distractions in England, account not our own disability, as having relation to ourselves so much as in that it disableth us from complying with your majesty's occasions in proportion to our affections, and as otherwise might be expected from us: however, with more regard to your majesty's service than our own wants, we do with all chearfulness humbly make tender unto your majesty of thirty thousand pounds, with this assurance, that upon an establishment of firm peace, whereby those heavy pressures we now groan under may be taken off, and this kingdom be put into better condition, we will freely expose our lives and fortunes towards the advancement of your majesty's service, and the maintenance of your majesty's rights and prerogatives.

MUSKRY.

AFTER

After concluding the cessation, the lord of Ormond applied his whole endeavours to make preparations for transporting the army into England, and having overcome the many difficulties which the necessitous times, his proper wants, the general indigence of the army's exhausted quarters, the often renewed pressures of the city, and the slow payments made by the confederates in pursuance of his offer, had laid in his way, at first made it his design to conduct them in person; but reflecting what inconveniencies might follow his going with men whom their wants would make mutinous and disorderly, until he were assured that good provision were made for them in England to prevent spoil and rapine, and running away to the country party; he inclined first to make tryal of their demeanour, by sending over four thousand foot under the command of colonel Gipton and Sir Michael Earnsly; nor did the lord of Clanrickard spare to lay before him as a further motive for his stay, that it might give encouragement to the worse affected of the Irish, to overawe those that were well inclined, when his person, power, and interest should be absent. But the convincing argument for his laying aside any thought even for the future of leaving the kingdom, was the trust his majesty conferred upon him of commanding it as his lieutenant general; and from this time the nation began to fancy to themseves an intire settlement, and most men applied their endeavours to compass it, to which end a general

ral aſſembly was convened at Waterford, where the chuſing of agents to be employed to the king, together with the inſtructions to be given them, and the deſign ſet on foot to carry on the war powerfully in Ulſter, were the principal matters that came in debate.

The election made of the lord of Muſkry, Mr. Alexander Mc Daniel, brother to the lord of Antrim, Mr. Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Talbot, Mr. Dermot O'Brien, and Mr. Jeffery Browne, who were the perſons intruſted for that employment, took up no time, but the inſtructions were long agitated, ſome thinking that they denied themſelves all they did not aſk, and others being of opinion, that conſidering the nature of the times and the king's preſent condition, many things were to be omitted, which in a calm ſeaſon were not only fit but neceſſary to be demanded; at length they fell to contriving of mediums which had the fortune not to be intirely ſatisfactory in Ireland, and were no way acceptable in England.

But we may well ſay, that if the confederates framed their proportions without due regard of the times; the agents from the proteſtants of Ireland ſent at the ſame time to court, in drawing up theirs meant rather to obſtruct than lay open any way of accommodation, it being folly (as it was written from thence by a man of eminent quality) to think that peace could be procured upon conditions of any affinity with thoſe whereof the reader may with more

more light make a judgment, when he shall have read the propositions of all sides printed at Waterford in the year forty-four. But although those so great distances were not composed at Oxford, and that so intricate a work required a longer time to perfect it, yet the king did then lay a foundation of what after followed, by his commission to the lord lieutenant, which enabled him to prosecute that affair.

The service in Ulster against the Scots that had not submitted to the cessation, came next to be agitated, and neither the moulding of an army out of the forces in the other provinces which the cessation had rendered useless at home, nor the ways taken of making provisions for it, were so long insisted upon as the naming of a person to command it, the matter at first seemed to be controverted between the general of Leinster and the general of Ulster, some were of opinion that Owen O'Neale who was chief in command for the confederates in that province, which was to be the seat of the war, should likewise command the auxiliaries; but although the greater number that stood for the negative derived arguments from remoter causes, yet the truth is, the apprehensions they had of putting so great a power into the hands of general Owen O'Neale, and that antient and everlasting difference between Leagh Cuin and Leagh Mone, which are the tracts of ground lying to the north and south of Ireland, prevailed more with them, than his abilities and capacity to undergo

go that charge, for which in the judgment of all men he apparently merited to be perferred beyond his competitor; and although general Preston seemed, by reason of the number of his friends and allies in the pale who had votes in that assembly, to stand fair for carrying it, yet when the first heats of discourse were past, and that some of their supreme council (to whose opinion, as being a body grown more knowing by experience) the assembly deferred much, began to lay before them how improbable it was that such success, as they all wished and all of them were interested in, should attend that choice of general Preston, between whom and general Owen O'Neale there was such an antipathy, as from their first apprenticeship in soldiery, which they had past at least thirty years before, notwithstanding their having served for all that time the same prince, and been employed in the same actions of war, could not be removed; they were calmed, and they elected the earl of Castlehaven, a person generally beloved, and so unconcerned in any benefit or advantage that might be acquired not only by this, but by any of the several great employments with which he was intrusted amongst the confederates, that no man could tax him of having other interest than the publick, during all the time he served them; and general Owen O'Neale, in appearance, might perhaps upon the exclusion of his antient antagonist at that time have been really satisfied with it; but we shall hereafter find, that they did

did not multiply the very few examples of concord between two persons of equal and absolute authority in arms employed upon the same action.

While the assembly sat at Waterford, the lord of Antrim that believed there was fit occasion offered him upon the sending of agents to Oxford from the confederates, to make known at court how great his power was in his country, and how usefully he was able to serve the king, entertained thoughts of having himself declared lieutenant general of the confederate catholicks of Ireland, and having received encouragement therein from some friends of his that had a part in the government, the design was formed with much industry, and prosecuted with no little earnestness in his behalf at council. It was said that there could be nothing which would more conduce to make the mission into England successful, than the mediation of powerful friends at court, and that it was well known what influence the dutchess of Buckingham had upon the affections of those from whom they were to expect satisfaction in their demands, and what willingness she had already expressed to do them good offices, that to shew their gratitude and to oblige her to continue, and (as the present occasion required it) to increase her care in their affairs, it were to be considered whether they ought not to find out a title with reference to some employment amongst them, that might appear as a mark of an eminent trust, and to move

the aſſembly that it might be conferred on the lord her huſband and their own countryman, and whether he might not be fitly named lieutenant general of the confederate catholicks; it was further alledged that the fame of ſuch an employment would ſtrengthen his party in Scotland, and conſequently by diverſion free the confederates from ſome part of the harm they were to expect from the daily increaſing power of the Scots in the north. The moſt part of the council, who already found by experience, what authority particular generals in provinces aſſumed, had it more in their care to draw the eyes of the ſoldiers on themſelves, and to appropriate the dependences of their affections to the board, expreſſing in their countenance the diſlike to this motion, the propoſer ſaid, that if it was underſtood, he intended to have him intruſted in a real authority to command our armies or to manage the war, by directing the actions of any of the generals, his meaning was miſtaken, that for this part the bare title was that he offered to their conſideration, which would get him reputation at court, and enable him to employ it for the advantage of the confederates, that the benefit to be expected by the lady dutcheſs's mediation, would be worthy the honour done her huſband in ſuch a name, which being accompanied with no power was unable of prejudicing their affairs, although ſome then at council were not ignorant that thoſe were the degrees by which matters of this nature and of

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less consequence had been formerly introduced; yet observing how plausible this offer was made, and being resolved to watch that nothing should creep in which might invalidate the contract or open way for this airy title to become a real power, the proposition was carried to the assembly, and the matter coming recommended by council, it was ordered without debate, that the supreme council should write a letter to the lord of Antrim, letting him know, that the assembly had chosen him to be lieutenant general of the confederate catholicks. But when this letter came to be drawn up, the secretary told the council, that as he was to obey the commands of the house in writing to the lord of Antrim, which he conceived he ought to do in such expressions as might best procure him credit at court and most oblige the dutchess, which was the principal scope of that letter, so he was likewise to put them in mind that they ought to provide that it should not lie in the power of the lord of Antrim to make other use of it, lest the assembly that granted the request without looking into the grounds because it moved from them, and they who made it with reference to an intention that no use, in order to a real power should be made of it, might find themselves deceived; and to prevent this, he desired, that since the lord of Antrim was then absent at Wexford, so as the promises which were made in his behalf could not be authenticated by signature, he might be allowed to write a letter from

himself, as by their command, wherein he might inform him to what restrictions their lordships ample letter to be inclosed in that he sent himself was limited; which being thought reasonable, the council having seen and approved of what he writ, he made up the dispatch; and this after proved to be a necessary precaution, for the lord of Antrim coming to Oxford with so large a trust from the confederates, he made a double return, being magnified at court upon the account of the confederates, and at Waterford upon the score of his favour at court, and being soon dispatched from thence, not only with large authority in relation to the affairs of Scotland, but with a commission, under the great seal of England, to command the ten thousand men, whereof the confederates by their remonstrance of the 17th of March, 1642, made offer to the king, when apt remedies were applied to their grievances, and having pressures, and so intent he was upon the execution of what he undertook, that he returned to Kilkenny, where the council then sat, at the same time that the agents deputed by the assembly at Waterford, staid for a wind at Wexford to transport them into England, and from thence he dispatched letters to his brother, who was then one of the agents, and whom he designed for Scotland, to stay him from his intended voyage; while himself was to attend the charge of ten thousand men he was to conduct, but his brother prosecuted the trust he had from the confederates,

federates, and himself entered somewhat abruptly upon the management of the power given him; for the earl of Castlehaven coming to take his leave of the lord of Antrim a day or two after he came to Kilkenny, and letting him know that he was then going to meet the army at the rendezvous, the lord of Antrim asked him what army; and the lord of Castlehaven answering, it was the army designed for the expedition of Ulster: Nay, replied my lord of Antrim, they are to face about, for I am to carry them to serve the king in England. The council was surprized to find the ten thousand men, promised by the confederates upon the conclusion of a settlement in the kingdom, were now in a manner exacted by the lord of Antrim, who told them it would be ill taken at court, if they were not sent before any treaty for applying remedies to their grievances were entered upon; and being no way satisfied with his proceedings, commanded the earl of Castlehaven to continue the design for Ulster.

While the council, after the recess of the assembly, sat at Waterford, cardinal Mazarine, whom the queen regent of France after the death of Lewis the thirteenth had chosen to be the first minister of state, having understood that the king of Spain had by the friendly reception given the Irish agents employed to Madrid, and by some monies for their use put into the hands of father James Talbot, of which we have formerly made mention, sought to ingratiate himself to the nation, thought it now time for him to look

into the affairs of Ireland, and assuring the council by his letters, that "he would always endeavour to induce the queen to assist them with her authority and credit, and to procure them all the ease and advantage which they could reasonably desire for their consciences and fortunes. He forgot not to put them in mind that their ancestors had in former times made choice of contrary remedies to those which only are allowable in the case of subjects, to wit, prayers and remonstrances from themselves, and intercessions and good offices from other princes, and had recourse to foreign force, to which God gave not a blessing, and which produced nothing else but their oppression, and an incurable distrust in the mind of their sovereign, who believed they were only his subjects, because they were not able to be the subjects of that prince who attempted to force them from his yoke, to put them by a necessary consequence under his own." The council were not ignorant, that he who made no scruple to assist the Catalonians against Spain, had a prospect upon somewhat beyond the soundness of the doctrine, and the justice of the principles he recommended to them; and as they believed that the nature of the government under which they lived, that was exercised by such persons as they conceived made use of the king's authority intrusted with them, to the destruction of his majesty's interests, might have excused in some measure the necessity of their taking arms

to

to prevent the ruin of their country, and the extirpation of catholick religion, threatened by a Scottish army, so they could not but have observed the admonitions his eminence gave them, unless they did after the resolution they had already taken themselves, which was to conserve an equal interest in the friendship of those two mighty potentates. But the apprehension the cardinal had of their greater inclinations to the house of Austria, made him consider that those advertisements were seasonable, and might perhaps be profitable for France. However, the council was not displeased that the people should take notice of the correspondence they held with foreign princes, and of the part they took in their affairs; and as this gave the government reputation at home, so the council was persuaded the noise of such intercourse with France would favour the expectation they had to receive considerable succours by father James Talbot, the Augustine frier, who was the second time sent into Spain with the offer of two thousand men to that crown, and intrusted to behave himself so as this expression of theirs, although free and far from the nature of a bargain, should yet produce those liberal effects which this father gave them encouragement would follow upon it; but they were much displeased to have found not only this their expectation frustrated by father Talbot's going to Flanders, and giving the letters sent by him to the court of Spain, to Don Francisco de Miloi the governor of the Low

Countries; but much more to see him return from thence joined in authority with Francisco Foyset a Burgundian, both of them employed by that governor to solicit the promised levy, *assigned* (as he writ) *by the Catholick King for his service in Flanders.* And although father Talbot alledged many reasons to justify the uprightness of his intention, and that he informed them of the necessity put upon him to swerve from prosecuting the literal sense of his instruction, yet he always after remained in their disfavour.

The council of the confederates having soon after removed to Galway, and several complaints being made to them of the liberty assumed by many to enter into the possession of mens estates whose ancestors had purchased them for valuable considerations, upon no other pretence, than that they were known to have belonged in former times to their family, gave orders to the earl of Castlehaven, while the season of the year and the preparations to be made for the northern expedition, kept him from advancing into Ulster, to march with part of the army into Connaught, to prevent the mischief which might arise from an evil already grown to such a height, as it was only remediable by force; and this the earl of Castlehaven performed by the general satisfaction of the province, not only in the conduct of the action, but likewise in causing his men to live under regular discipline, to abstain from doing the least injury to the inhabitants, having sent the lord

lord viſcount Mayo and Richard Bourke, of the party who countenanced this diſturbance with a guard of horſe to the council at Galway. In the mean time the earl of Antrim obſerving that the tranſporting of the ten thouſand men into England was a matter that depended upon more circumſtances than the commiſſion he brought with him to lead them, preſſed earneſtly that he ſhould at leaſt be intruſted in the charge of lieutenant general, which by direction of the late aſſembly at Waterford, the council was to confer upon him; but this was grown much more difficult than at firſt, for the council was now better informed of the lord of Antrim's proceedings in England, and of the uſe which was made of the letter then ſent him; they had likewiſe been advertiſed of ſome expreſſions which the paſſionate reſentment of the delay uſed in giving his commiſſion, drew from this nobleman: and although they ſeemed ſatisfied with the lord of Antrim's anſwers to what was alledged againſt him, yet the ſecretary, who thought himſelf moſt concerned in the matter, and always kept in mind the motives alledged for writing that ſo plauſible a letter, which gave a beginning to all thoſe intrigues, was ſo jealous, that this, which at firſt was intended for no other than a bare title, ſhould in time require ſome authority, that when the commiſſion was ingroſſed, and warrant was ſent him to ſeal it, he for two days ſuſpended the doing of it, alledging that although in all other matters he ought to ſubmit to the

major

major vote of the board; yet, having received the publick seal in particular trust from the first assembly, as he had done from those that followed it, he conceived, that in a matter of that importance, and so carried as this was, he could not justify making use of the seal, when himself dissented in opinion, without a warrant from those that intrusted him with it. However, he at length, after two days solicitation to avoid so new and nice a contest, having satisfied himself that the end he aimed at, which was no other than to see the intention with which this title was granted duly observed, might be attained by other means, he made offer both to sign and seal the lord of Antrim's commission, so their lordships would concur with him in signing such instructions as might limit the execution of it to the sense the proposer delivered, when suit at first was made for the grant; and the council condescending willingly to this request, the title of lieutenant general was by an ample commission conferred upon him, which he thought fit for the present to accept; but having at the next assembly held at Kilkenny, complained of the severe carriage of the council towards him, and produced their letters written by command of the assembly, to aggravate their disobedience, he laid down his commission, thinking it would be restored to him without those clogs and restrictions which accompanied it; and as there wanted not those who were always apt to fall heavily upon the council, and to censure their proceedings,

some

ſome began to charge them with neglect of their duty, and a deſign to lay aſide any dependance they ought to have upon the houſe, when the ſecretary ſetting forth at large the circumſtances of all that had paſſed of that matter, and producing the copy of his own letter to the earl of Antrim, which was upon record, whereby it appeared what the reſult was, and how far from the council's intention; and the firſt requeſt made at the board in the lord of Antrim's behalf, it was to have him inveſted in any real power, there was a general ſilence; and the commiſſion reſting where himſelf had placed it, the aſſembly entered into the debate of ſome other motion, and thus an end was put to that pretenſion, and the lord of Antrim thence after applied himſelf to that which he had deſigned to act in Scotland.

In the mean time the earl of Caſtlehaven having appointed the vanguard of the auxiliaries with ſome field-pieces to meet at Ballinetagh in the county of Longford, had intelligence by a ſpy, that the northern army, conſiſting of fourteen or fifteen thouſand men, having twelve days proviſion of oatmeal, with no baggage but what they carried on horſeback, was at Cavan, marching directly to fight him; and this advertiſement likewiſe coming to him from a colonel of that army, who wiſhed well to the king, he inſtantly retreats to Portleiſter, where general O'Neale with the Creaghts of Ulſter then lay, giving orders to the reſt of his army to come thither to him,

him, and immediately sent colonel John Butler with four or five hundred horse and foot to defend the bridge of Fina. The enemy, by the lord of Castlehaven's speedy retreat, being disappointed of their design to fight him, advanced notwithstanding, burning and preying the country, and charging those employed to defend the bridge of Fina, mingling in the rout with them, they gained it, together with the castle of Fina, burning Carlongstowne and the country about it; but their provisions being spent, they marched back by the way of the county of Louth into Ulster. After the enemy was retreated, and the whole army was come to Portleister, the lord Castlehaven called upon general O'Neale for the four thousand foot and four hundred horse, which he had engaged himself at the assembly in Waterford to join to the auxiliaries upon their advance to Ulster; his answer was, that he would perform his promise when he came thither. The army moving from thence by the same way the Scots retreated, came into the county of Armagh, where the promised supply was again demanded by the earl of Castlehaven; but the men were more intent upon securing their Creaghts now they were gotten into the enemy's country, than in joining in a body to strengthen the army; this, notwithstanding the lord of Castlehaven marched to Towregie, and there began to build a fort: before this was finished, a strong party of horse and dragoons were commanded to make an inroad into the county of Downe; those marching from

from the camp by night, came to a difficult and narrow pass upon the edge of that county, called Scirrafach, guarded with three hundred musketeers and three troops of horse, commanded by captain Blair, which the lord of Castlehaven (being in the head of the party) forced, and falling upon the foot, whom their horse had deserted, very few of them escaped, and their captain was taken prisoner. Although the Irish had thus with no great loss gained the pass, yet the party having understood that the Scottish army marched towards them, retired to the camp at Towregie, where certain advertisement being brought by noon the next day, that the Scottish army approached, order was presently given to demolish the works, and lieutenant general Purcell, with three troops of horse, being left to bring up the rear, the lord of Castlehaven, who being disappointed of the Ulster forces, was not able to face them, fell back to Charlemount, and the enemy being come in sight, those left behind drew off.

At Charlemount a council of war was called, in which it was carried by the major vote, that in regard their provisions were spent, they should retire immediately, and endeavour to be supplied at a farther distance from an enemy that overpowered them: this being concluded, the earl of Castlehaven sent Hugh Mc'Phelim, Mc'Thomas, and captain Lewis Moore, to advertise general Owen O'Neale of the resolution taken, that he might betimes provide for his own, and the

the ſafety of his Creaghts. This old ſoldier, who was then ſick, receiving this ſo ſudden and unexpected a meſſage, weak though he was, he ſat up in his bed, and told them, that without doubt they had lighted on the worſt reſolution which could be taken in the caſe; and if they knew as he did, that Monroe himſelf had but a few days proviſion, which being ſpent, he muſt of neceſſity retire, they would certainly have agreed to attend his motion in a place of ſafety, whatever extremity they were compelled to endure, rather than to draw off almoſt in the ſight of an enemy that certainly would overtake and defeat them; and that the army ſhould not be expoſed to any danger of ſtarving, while there were beeves in the Ulſter Creaghts. The earl of Caſtlehaven finding ſo opportune a remedy, applied to a diſeaſe which was otherwiſe incurable, viſited general O'Neale, and having adviſed with him of what was fit to be done, lieutenant colonel Fennell, with ſix troops of horſe, was commanded to guard a paſs at Bimborb, that lay midway between both camps, and nothing memorable being acted for ſome days that the armies remained thus poſted, the officers that commanded the auxiliary forces, either finding their men, notwithſtanding the care of general O'Neale, ſcanted in their proviſions, and grow thin, or being themſelves willing to fall back into the provinces from whence they were drawn, began to importune the lord of Caſtlehaven to march off with the army; which being reſolved to be performed

formed in the night, general O'Neale foreſeeing the confuſion that neceſſarily would have accompanied them, and the imminent danger to which they might be expoſed, propoſed to the lord of Caſtlehaven this expedient to prevent it. There was a paſſage called Strafaile, by which Monroe's proviſions were brought to his camp, and it lay ſo, as if the Iriſh army might paſs a great bog that was betwixt that and Charlemount, they would eaſily ſeize on it before the Scottiſh army would be able to fall back to defend it, and ſo cut off all relief from them; wherefore orders were given that the army ſhould employ themſelves in carrying faggots, and making a way over the bog, and in the edge of the evening powder and bullet was diſtributed among them, which being related to Monroe by a ſpy then in the Iriſh camp, he ſoon gathered what he conceived probable enough to be the deſign, and marched northward to the paſſage of Strafaile, at the ſame time that the lord of Caſtlehaven retreated ſouthward to the county of Monaghan. This was the ſucceſs of that enterprize, and no man that knows how the war was commonly managed by the confederates, will wonder to find it far different from the general expectation, and no way ſuitable to the noiſe it made when this expedition was reſolved upon at Waterford; for we are to conſider, that although the country was able to maintain ſo great numbers of men as were in arms during their being quartered among them, while day by day they fed on ſuch

proviſions

provisions as they could afford them, yet there was much difficulty to advance so much as but for a short time would maintain them in the field: and although the parts from whence they were drawn, accompanied them with fair promises to be constantly supplied, yet they were scarce ever performed, when they were once rid of those that compelled them to make the hardest shifts to furnish them.

While it was doubtful what would be the event of the northern expedition, the English garrisons in Munster and Connaught were content to be thought willing to sit down satisfied with the cessation of arms; but when the success of it had quieted their apprehensions, and that the Scottish army entered England in favour of the parliament, under the command of Sir Alexander Lesly, whom the king had made lord Leven, then they began to cast their eyes upon the growing power of those that stood in opposition to the king's authority, and to decline the cessation.

The parliament party being thus increased in strength, those that adhered to the king were conceived to be in such a state, as they could not make any long resistance; the inequality of their condition acquired the stronger party, the dependance of many of those whom unalterable principles had not engaged in all events to follow the fortune of the king. In this conjuncture the English garrisons in Connaught, held by the Coote's and Ormsby's, began to exercise acts of hostility, first alledging the Irish had incroached

upon

upon their quarters, and soon after avowing publickly that they adhered to and depended upon the king and parliament, a form of expression taken up by those that fought in the king's name against his person; but the army in Munster, commanded by the lord of Inchiquin, as it was by much the more powerful, so it fetched a larger circuit about, and used more industry to join interests decently with the prevailing party in England; and nothing was thought more justifiable in the case, or likelier to find credit with the English in general, than an apprehension in that parly of some notable design in the Irish to become intire masters of Ireland, and therefore they reported, and would have it believed, that they had entered into a dangerous conspiracy to betray all the English, and to deliver the kingdom to a foreign prince: and to prevent a mischief so ripe and ready to fall, as gave them not leisure to consult the king's lieutenant, whose duty it was to prescribe the remedy, the lord of Inchiquin immediately drove all the catholicks out of Cork, Youghall, Kingsale, and his other garrisons; that, and the suddenness of the action, contributing somewhat to make the fear seem real.

THIS resolution, which nevertheless was executed after such a manner, as gave occasion to the lord lieutenant, and the protestant party, that adhered to the king, to suspect that time had ripened it; and although they had by a slow application endeavoured to justify their

 designs,

designs, and invited his excellency to bear them company; yet they had in all events provided to strengthen their party, by communicating them to some that depended upon them, before they had acquainted his excellency with it, which he resents in this his letter to the lord of Inchiquin; and because it expresses his sense of that matter, I thought fit to insert in this place.

The lord lieutenant, to my lord of Inchiquin.

July 1644.

My Lord,

I Received lately, a letter from Sir Thomas Warton, by his man, one Johnston; and by him also, a verbal message, as from your lordship and his master; the substance of it being of high importance, if true. I caused him to be sworn to, and have sent your lordship a copy of his examination. I confess, I did much suspect the fellow to have made this tale, and to be set on so to do, by some one desirous to raise troubles in the minds of the people here, which abundantly it hath done, to the very great distraction of affairs here; but finding the man constant in his relation, and willing to abide the trial of the truth of it, I am much staggered, yet it still sticks with me. Really, Sir Thomas Warton or your lordship, if there had been so much danger in writing the matter freely, which I cannot conceive there was, for he came quietly, and softly brought me the letter untouched and unsearched, would not give the man some little

word

word of credence; or indeed, why in a matter of that consequence, a messenger of better quality and ability was not ventured. I assure your lordship, the carriage of the matter was, to his majesty, very great disservice, and not without some blemish to me, which I cannot believe to be any part of your lordship's, or my friend Thomas Warton's intention; though it so falls out, by putting me in equal consideration with Pigot, Barrowes, and others, or rather them afore me, by first giving them information of it, as if they, and not I, were intrusted with the government of this kingdom. My lord, I expect with much impatience, to be instructed by your lordship, what the matter is, or whether indeed, there be any matter in it, and so I rest,

Your lordship's affectionate humble servant,

Dublin Castle, the of July, 1644. ORMOND.

At the time when this happened, the earl of Clanrickard and St. Alban's, and the earl of Thomond, the viscounts Dillon, Taaffe, Fitz-Williams, and Ranelagh, and the lord baron of Howth, out of a sense of the daily destruction in which their native country was involved, as good patriots, desirous of settlement, and willing to set limits to the depredations and spoils committed by the Scotch covenanters in Ulster, whom the state at Dublin, although their actions pro-

claimed their averſion to the ceſſation, concluded by the king's authority, was loth to declare rebels, had drawn and ſubſcribed the enſuing letter.

To the king's majeſty.

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

THOUGH we believe that the preſent ſtate and condition of your majeſty's party, and forces in this kingdom, is more fully and clearly repreſented to your majeſty by the lord lieutenant and council, than can proceed from any knowledge or information of our's; yet we hold it a neceſſary part of our duty to your majeſty, to contribute ſomewhat to the general good, and to ſeek the means of our own preſervation, by humbly repreſenting to your majeſty's gracious conſideration, our moſt unhappy and diſtracted condition, and our long ſufferings, even to the ruin of ourſelves and families; and at this time, without any conſiderable defence, expoſed to the mercy of two powerful armies, now in the field; the one, of the confederate catholicks party, if they were diſpoſed to make any invaſion upon us; and the other, of the Scotch covenanters, and ſuch as adhere to them, who by burning, ſpoiling, and committing of cruel and hoſtile acts, have broken the ceſſation, and caſt off their obedience to your majeſty's government here, which gives us full aſſurance of our imminent danger, and the neceſſity of our preſuming,

ſuming, in this manner, to preſent our humble ſupplications to your majeſty.

We humbly offer to your majeſty's gracious conſideration, that during all theſe unhappy diſtempers and commotions, raiſed in your majeſty's ſeveral dominions, we have conſtantly continued moſt loyal to your majeſty, and obedient to your royal command; though, by reaſon of the high diſtraction in England, and the ſlow proceedings or ſuſpicions of ſome that formerly managed the government here, many of us have been totally neglected, and without any manner of encouragement or aſſiſtance, have expoſed our perſons to imminent hazard, and our eſtates to deſtruction, out of our zeal to your ſervice, and for the preſervation of your majeſty's authority, and the defence of your good ſubjects, in the ſeveral places of our reſidence, and ſuch of us as were beſt aſſiſted and truſted with employment and command, have been ſo ſlowly ſupplied and relieved, and the dangers and difficulties ſo great, that we have cauſe to admire God's infinite mercy towards us, by enabling us, in ſome ſort, to ſubſiſt in the midſt of ſo many tumults and diſtractions.

We muſt likewiſe humbly acknowledge your majeſty's great wiſdom, and gracious goodneſs towards us, that finding, by the diſobedience of many of your ſubjects in thoſe parts, and the ſad diſtempers of England, your majeſty could not, by your own royal power, ſeaſonably protect and defend us from the dangers we were in; you

were graciouſly pleaſed to admit of a timely remedy, by condeſcending to a ceſſation of arms for a year, the only expedient that could then be found to preſerve us, and to which we do attribute our ſafeties, and humbly acknowledge your majeſty's great favour therein, and from thence we were hopeful that a happy ſettlement would enſue in this kingdom, to the content and ſatisfaction of all your majeſty's well-affected ſubjects, ſo far as could be expected in a country ſo miſerably waſted by the cruelties of a civil war; but the time appointed for the continuance of the ceſſation, being now near expired, and nothing appearing to us of ſupplies or neceſſary defence, nor any thing of peace or ſettlement concluded, we cannot but be very ſenſible of the general calamities of this kingdom, and the certain ruin like to fall upon us, and many other of your majeſty's faithful ſubjects, in their perſons, fortunes, and families, if a war be again renewed; in that condition we are in, and your majeſty's power ſo reſtrained, by the unnatural continuance, and increaſe of the troubles in England, as that there is little expectation of any fitting or timely aſſiſtance for your majeſty's ſervice, and our own preſervations.

We moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty to look upon us with a favourable eye, and compaſſionate regard of paſt ſufferings and preſent danger; and that our loyalty, zeal, and conſtant faithful endeavours in your ſervice, may be

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so considered, as not to continue us in a more perplexed and destructive estate, than any other of your majesty's subjects, even those who have taken arms in opposition to your majesty's authority, who are upon their guard and provided for defence, and we only exposed to the violence and malice of all insulting enemies.

We humbly propose, that if the agents for the confederate catholick party, out of the opinion of their own strength, or taking advantage of the present distractions, have been high and immoderate in their propositions and demands, or if those that went as agents from your majesty's protestant subjects, and their adherents in this kingdom, through so sharp a resentment of their private losses, or for other particular ends, have, under the title of protestant subjects, received instruction, or introduced the opinions of others not well affected to the religion or government established here, instead of the intentions and inclinations of others more moderate and truly faithful to your majesty's service; and thereby put unnecessary rubs and doubts upon the progress of the treaty; to continue a disturbance, and by a division here, to hinder your majesty from the united assistance of your subjects of this kingdom; that your majesty, by your own great wisdom and royal judgment, will be pleased to moderate and reconcile those differences in such a way, as may probably produce a speedy and happy agreement; or if that your majesty's leisure will not so permit, that the

lord lieutenant and council here may have commiſſion to proceed upon the articles and conditions of peace, upon debate and conference with the moderate and well-affected on both ſides; and then we are humbly of opinion, that no ſuch diſtance will appear as is now diſcourſed of, and that your majeſty, and your faithful ſubjects here, will ſoon find the benefit of ſo happy a reconciliation. Our preſent danger doth further invite us, humbly to propoſe unto your majeſty, that in regard the Scotch covenanters, and their adherents, are now in arms in this kingdom, violating and breaking the ceſſation, and do refuſe to pay obedience to your majeſty's government; and that upon very probable grounds, we have juſt cauſe to believe, that as they gain advantage, there will be little diſtinction made between us, and thoſe whom they now aſſault: that therefore, they may be ſpeedily declared enemies, and your majeſty's power employed for the ſuppreſſing of them, to which the confederate party, who keep the ceſſation, and ſeem more ready to return to their obedience, will doubtleſs give their beſt aſſiſtance; and to ſubſiſt in this divided condition, without joining or receiving the help of one party or other, we conceive utterly impoſſible. All which we ſubmit to your majeſty's conſideration; and your timely reſolution is humbly begged by your majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects and ſervants,

Clan: and St. Albans. Thomond. Taaffe. Dillon. Fitz-Williams. Ranelagh. Howth.

July 15, 1644.

THE

THE Scotch covenant, about this time, was ſo much in vogue, and the preſbyterians ſo ſucceſsful, that they made proſelytes; among the reſt, there was a lady of quality in Drogheda, ſo active in debauching their officers, in intelligence with Monroe; and preparatory for admitting a party from him into the town, that ſhe had provided falſe keys for the ports, and which was much reſented by the lord lieutenant, Sir Patrick Weams, to whom the king had done many favours, and his excellency many good offices, was conſidered as faulty in that contrivement, at leaſt, as far as the concealing of it.

Now the fourth year was well advanced, ſince the beginning of the firſt commotion in the north, when the ſupreme council, finding by the conſtant clamours of the people, by the many inſolvent delinquents, and the reſort of ſome catholick families, to live in the enemies quarters, meerly to avoid the impoſitions and taxes upon them, that the war was grown inſupportable, reſolved to be truly informed how far they might rely on foreign ſuccours; whereof their agents, who were all of them eccleſiaſtical perſons, often gave them hopes, and which themſelves were forward to reckon upon, as an aſſured ſupport of a war, undergone for ſo pious and noble a cauſe; for being all of them men, who by reaſon of the conſtitution of the government at home, which excluded catholicks from publick employments, were ſtrangers to the management of ſtate affairs, as they are regulated

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in later ages, by the ſole intereſt of princes, they entertained themſelves with thoſe principles of religion and honour, and the influences they had in thoſe hiſtories which they read, upon the actions of men, in the times of their forefathers, and wondering at the ſlow effects which their ſolicitations abroad produced, they employed one of their number to Innocent the tenth, then newly made Pope, to the court of France, to the ſtate of Venice, the duke of Florence, the republick of Genoa, and the marquis of Caſtle-Rodoriquez, then governor of the low-countries, for Philip the fourth, king of Spain: and although many things intervened during the nine months he was abſent upon that negociation, which we ſhall have occaſion to relate hereafter; yet I conceived it would be more acceptable to the reader, if he might receive the progreſs of thoſe foreign affairs, without interruption; and more proper for one who made it his deſign to write a hiſtory, not a diary, to preſent it in this manner.

THIS gentleman (Mr. Richard Belling) having received his commiſſions and inſtructions, meaned to have paſſed privately through France, without other application, than to the queen of England, then at Paris; but finding, by Fa. Hartegan, who was employed by the confederates in that court, that cardinal Mazarin not only underſtood of his arrival, and the journey he was to make to Rome, but that he expected to ſpeak with him, and that with ſuch paſſion, as the father ſaid he feared, unleſs the cardinal

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were ſatisfied therein, he might be ſtopt in ſome part of France; he therefore went to him, and ſoon diſcovered, that the court of France being then upon no good terms with the pope, the cardinal had ſome apprehenſions of this application of the confederates to Rome, leſt the pope, who was believed to have been partial to the Spaniard, might have diſpoſed the Iriſh to have an abſolute dependance upon the catholick king; but this gentleman let him ſee, that his eminence ought rather preſume, that the affections of that nation, ſo far as might ſtand with the indifferency which they intended to obſerve in the concernments of catholick princes, ſhould rather be thought to lean towards France, both by reaſon of the diſtance at which they then ſtood with their enemies, and that the queen, and ſome of the royal family, were cheriſhed by the French, and lived among them: he told them, moreover, that in proof of ſuch their confidence in the queen regent, and his eminence, it was reſolved, before he left Ireland, he ſhould be authorized to apply himſelf to France, whence (although it became them at preſent, in the firſt place, their requeſt to the pope) yet they expected moſt aſſiſtance, and in truth, the promiſes given him, and often before to their agents, had they been performed, might well have ſatisfied their expectations.

THIS gentleman being diſmiſſed, went on his journey to Rome, where he found the archbiſhop of Firmo nominated by the pope, for the nunciature

ciature of Ireland, preparing for his voyage thither: monſeigneur Homody, now cardinal of that name, a prudent and diſcreet prelate, whom all men believed the Pope had deſigned for that employment, and was able of his own to contribute to the charge of the war, being poſtponed to gratify (as it was ſaid) the duke of Florence, to whom his holineſs promiſed ſome charge for the archbiſhop, by which he might ſubſiſt, until the revenue of his ſee had diſcharged the debts he had contracted. The ſum deſigned for the aſſiſtance of the confederates, and given this prelate to be brought them, exceeded not, as well in what the pope ſent, as in what was contributed by the Barbarians *, and other cardinals and prelates, fifteen or ſixteen thouſand pounds; which when the gentlemen employed by the confederates underſtood, after his firſt audience, being encouraged by the gracious reception given him, took notice of the inconſiderableneſs of ſuch a ſupply toward the carrying on of ſo great a work; and humbly beſought his holineſs to proportion his aſſiſtance, in ſome meaſure, to the vaſt burthen of the charge under which the confederates were ready to ſink. To this the Pope, expreſſing a feeling ſenſe of the difficulties the nation was to combat againſt, in attaining

* In the Original, the word is as in the Text, but ſhould certainly have been written Barbarinians, from the family of the Barbariny, who contributed amply to the ſupport of the confederate catholicks.

thoſe glorious ends they propoſed unto themſelves, returned for anſwer, "That the late war in Italy, had ſo drained the exchequer of the church, and the proviſion he was to make, to prevent the invaſion menaced by the Turks, would ſo increaſe his charge, that he could not do what he was willing; but that he would be mindful of them". It grieved this gentleman, that the fruits of ſo long a voyage, ſhould be no other than a return of experience; and that the ſupreme councils magazine of hopes ſhould be found ſo empty; and therefore, at another audience, and by memorials, preſt his requeſt; but finding, that importunity was likelier to produce offence, than increaſe of aſſiſtance, he deſiſted, and began to publiſh in all places, that he was abundantly ſatisfied with the Pope; for the eyes of all catholick princes being upon him, to ſee whether he meaned to embark himſelf really in that war, or only to countenance it with his patronage and benediction, he was glad it ſhould be believed, that the Pope would appear powerfully in ſeconding the deſigns of the confederates; to the end, that other potentates to gratify him, might be won to favour his intentions, by contributing large ſupplies to a work, whereon he had ſo ſeriouſly fixed his thoughts, and meaned to finiſh at what coſt ſoever: but this notwithſtanding, and although the Pope by his briefs, had recommended the confederates requeſt to the duke of Florence, and the ſtate of Genoa; yet he met there with the ſame excuſes he found at the court of Rome, all men wiſhed well

well to the cause, but no man was in condition to assist it. The Venetians were at that time making provisions for the war of Candy, which they always since maintained gloriously against the force of the Ottoman empire, and it was not fit to speak to them of the necessities of others who were themselves engaged in so great a work; and therefore he forbore to deliver their duke the pope's brief sent him likewise.

Having thus discovered what was to be relied on in Italy, he came to France, from whence the supreme council little doubted to procure supplies in some measure answerable to the vast promises, with which their agents from time to time entertained the confederates, but there he soon found, that although their undertakings were applauded, and their actions magnified at court, yet the benefit which might accrue to France by them was that which cardinal Mazarin, then prime minister of state, made the object of his thoughts, the propagation of catholick religion, the maintenance of the just rights and prerogatives of a king oppressed by his rebel subjects, and the defence of the liberties of neighbour nation, were believed by the confederate catholicks to have been motives so powerful for obtaining assistance, that all catholick princes would contend who should have greatest interest in the honour of the action. But the cardinal although he omitted not to express at all times as much sense of the justice of so noble an enterprize, and so great an inclination in his particular to further it as any man, yet

yet as from the beginning the ſmall ſuccours ſent from France (and the ſame may be ſaid of Spain) rather ſeemed a kind of traffick for men, and a gratification for the levies made in Ireland, for the ſervice of both crowns, than marks of a royal bounty and a real will to aſſiſt them; ſo now it was diſcovered, that unleſs the confederates would wholly decline Spain, and caſt themſelves entirely on France, nothing which would be conſiderable was to be expected from thence.

The affairs likewiſe of the low countries were at this time ſo diſcompoſed by the maſtering power of the French, as the gentleman's negotiation there could not have extended further than to ſettle commerce and traffick, and provide for exporting arms and ammunition, and for bringing in prizes taken by thoſe employed by the confederates, with letters of marque, to their harbours, with more liberty than was admitted during the government of don Franciſco de Melos, predeceſſor to the marquis de Caſtle Rodoriquez.

This in brief is the account which in November 1645, at which time this gentleman accompanied the lord nuncio into Ireland, was given the council and committee of the aſſembly appointed to ſit with them, who as they found their expectations from abroad very much fruſtrated, ſo they took notice the progreſs of their affairs was much retarded by the ſlow coming of thoſe ſame ſupplies, which the lord nuncio was to bring with him, who being diſpatched from

Rome

Rome in March before, ſtaid ſix months in Paris upon this occaſion.

The Nunciature of France was at this time executed by monſieur Banny, now cardinal of that name, who was intruſted with that charge by pope Urban VIIIth, a favour of the French intereſts; and the archbiſhop of Firmo either believing the pope would be well ſatisfied that this charge would fall into the hands of a creature of his own, or in order to ſome inſtruction received in that behalf from his maſter, pretended to the place, relying on ſome friendſhip he had with cardinal Mazarine, and although it was very improbable, conſidering how little ſatisfied the courts of Rome and France were at that time the one of the other, that he ſhould be admitted nuncio ſo eaſily, in France, and with ſo little ceremony, yet while it was expected that by his friends in Rome he might contribute to mitigate the pope's indignation againſt the barbarians, he was ſuffered to feed himſelf with that hope. But when it appeared evident that the pope could not be diverted by any mediation from proſecuting them, the archbiſhop of Firmo was diſmiſſed, and fifteen hundred piſtoles given him to buy a frigate to carry him into Ireland.

Thus we ſee how ſelf love, the fatal mark of our firſt parents prevarication, darkens the faculties of our ſoul and captivates our judgment; nothing but the event having been able to bound the vaſt expectation of the confederates, and nothing but a refuſal able to repreſs the earneſt

deſires

desires of this prelate, whose indiscreet servants made the repulse the more noted, not forbearing to publish every where how much their master's condition was to be bettered, who instead of being Nuncio in a poor island so far remote from Italy, was to have the same employment in France.

He set sail in October 1645, from Rochell, and arrived in the river of Kilmare, which falls into the sea in the west of the county of Kerry, the sixth day, after having brought with him a parcel of arms bought at Paris, together with the remains in specie of the supply which was not conveyed thither by bills of exchange, and having escaped very narrowly being taken at sea by Plunket, that noted scourge of the Irish, whose cook-room by chance taking fire, he was forced to desist from his pursuit, when now he was ready to grasp a very considerable booty; he was received at his landing and passed on with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, the concourse from all parts was very great, and the Irish, who are naturally inclined to render very submiss observance to any ecclesiastical person, paid all reverence imaginable to this so great a minister of the pope's; the council having appointed some troops of horse to attend him, and sent to congratulate his safe arrival, expected him with impatience at Kilkenny, where from the beginning of the war they commonly fixed their residence. His entrance into the city which he made the on horseback

under a canopy, was as ſolemn and magnificent as the clergy and laity (that ſtrove which of them ſhould do him the greateſt honour) could make it; after ſome days of repoſe he had audience given him in the gallery of the caſtle, and was conducted from his houſe by ſome prelates and noblemen with other perſons of quality appointed to attend upon him; he was received at the gate by two of the council, and others of the clergy and nobility of a more eminent degree, and when he came to the place where the council ſat, he was placed in a chair not far from the lord viſcount Mountgarrett, the preſident of the council; after ſome pauſe, during which all was compoſed to an attentive ſilence, the lord Nuncio preſented the brief to the preſident, who gave it to be publickly read. It contained a declaration "of the miſſion with "which his holineſs intruſted Joannes Baptiſta "Renuccini, a prelate both his domeſtick and "aſſiſtant, as an apoſtolical extraordinary nun-"cio ſent into the kingdom of Ireland to the "confederate catholicks; it mentioned ſupply "to have been ſent by him proportionable to "his ability, and the condition of the times; "and concluded with an earneſt deſire, that "credit ſhould be given to what his nuncio "ſhould further ſay, as if himſelf ſhould ſpeak "the words he was to deliver." The brief being read, the Nuncio expreſſed in a Latin oration, the paternal care his holineſs had of the confederates, and the paſſion with which he wiſh-
ed

ed happy ſucceſs to their affairs, he declared moreover the particular eſteem himſelf had for the cauſe and the nation, and acknowledged the great honour was done him in the choice the pope was pleaſed to make of him, to aſſiſt ſo renowned a people in attaining thoſe noble ends they propoſed to themſelves; and concluded with letting them know three things which were principally given him in command by his maſter; the firſt was to propagate catholick religion, next to conſerve the catholicks in union among themſelves, and the third was to cheriſh in them the allegiance due to their lawful ſovereign. He could not have ended his diſcourſe more to the ſatisfaction of all thoſe that heard him, than by mentioning the ſubjects duty towards their king, and that he had in charge to cheriſh it, for it was collected as an inference thereupon, that he was willing they ſhould bury the memory of their paſt ſufferings in the bliſſings of a happy peace, and thereby transfer the miſeries which accompanied that inteſtine war to another kingdom, where their arms might be uſeful to their ſovereign. But in the ſequel of his hiſtory, we ſhall diſcover what conformity his proceedings had with his profeſſions, when we have firſt caſt our eye back upon what was acted at home, while the confederates ſought to be informed by the gentleman they employed abroad what aſſiſtance they might expect for a cauſe wherein they thought all the catholick

world was interested; the first was the siege of Duncannon.

The fort of Duncannon which is the key of the ports of Waterford and Ross, by which the rivers of the Barrow, the Shure and the Nore, fall into the sea, and make a noble and secure harbour, is seated on the north side of the river in Leinster on a rock, and regularly fortified; it had for many years been commanded by the lord Esmond, who at this time was aged and blind, so as his lieutenant captain Lurken executed that employment; general Preston with fifteen hundred foot sat before it, and having planted his cannon and mortar pieces, began to batter the fort, and by many winding trenches, to approach the wall, which he assaulted, having placed five hundred musqueteers in his works to drive off the besieged, but their musquets having been rendered unserviceable by a whirlwind which still blew off their priming powder, and their pans being filled with the dust and sand, the assailants were beaten off with much loss; yet the battery still continued, and captain Lurken by a stone beaten from the wall by a cannon shot being killed, the under officers not consulting the lord Esmond, seeing the enemy prepare for a second assault, beat a parley, and surrendered the fort upon honourable conditions, carrying the lord Esmond with them, who died in the way to his manor house of Limerick. In the mean time captain Plunket, that noted scourge of the Irish at sea, being come into the harbour

harbour with supplies from the parliament for the relief of the fort, thinking it still in the hands of the lord Esmond, sent his purser and six more of his mariners ashore, who landing at an inlet of the sea between the fort and Ballihack, were made prisoners, and after paying their ransom were sent to Limerick, where the garrison soldiers were arrived before them.

After the taking of the fort of Duncannon, the council observing that the succours which the lord of Inchiquin expected out of England were delayed, and that the body of men he could draw out of his garrisons was not able to dispute the mastery of the field with the confederates, resolved to carry on the war in Munster vigorously that summer, to which end the earl of Castlehaven, general of that province, having made all fit preparations, advanced with the army to Caperquin, a strong castle commanding a bridge upon the Blackwater, which after a breach made, yielded upon quarter; thence he marched to Michelstown, which having been summoned and refusing quarter, the general caused the ordnance to be planted, and after a few shot, the place, which was no way defensible, yielded upon mercy, and two or three, whereof one was a minister that was charged to have been upon several actions cruel to the Irish, were hanged, for their unsoldiery obstinacy: in the mean time the lord of Inchiquin having drawn what strength of men he could to the field, took in Rostlan in Imokilly, a fair house,

the jointure of Mrs. Fitz-Gerald, daughter to the lord baron of Britis, which was as little tenable as Michelſtown, and then Sir Richard Meagh, the catholick dean of Cork, and captain William Fiz-James Barry were hanged, which action how juſtifiable ſoever by the law of arms, yet made a great noiſe and increaſed the animoſities between them, the clergy of both ſides being therein concerned: the lord of Inchiquin after taking Roſtclane, marched immediately to Ballimartine, a place of great importance, hoping to be able to carry it before the earl of Caſtlehaven, who was as yet buſied in clearing his paſſage, by taking in the little caſtles in his way, was advanced too far; and when Caſtlehaven upon advertiſement of the ſiege laid to Ballimartine was marching in haſte to the relief of it, the lord of Inchiquin ſent forth the lord of Broghill with the horſe, to give him reſpite to finiſh his work, by foreclofing the enemies advance, which he endeavoured to do by entertaining the van guard of the army with a ſmart ſkirmiſh at a place called Killcrueig, midway betwixt Caſtlelions and Blackwater, but the body approaching, the lord of Broghill retreated to Caſtlelions, ſending ſome troops back to the lord of Inchiquin, and advertiſing him of the enemies drawing near to him; whereupon he by break of day drew off his ordnance, and raiſing the ſiege marched off to Barriſcourt: notice being brought to the earl of Caſtlehaven of the lord of Inchiquin's riſing from before Ballymartine, he

he applied himſelf to remove all impediments that might hinder ſuttlers from furniſhing the camp before he advanced beyond that nook of a country which lies on the other ſide of the Blackwater, and therefore turning to Mallow, the place being weak and unfortified, the garriſon yielded upon quarter, to leave their arms, ammunition and proviſions; the like did Liſcarroll. But the caſtle of Innagh, in Orrery, in which lieutenant Fiſher commanded, being of good ſtrength and kept by ſtout and reſolute men, refuſed to ſubmit, but the cannon having beaten down and driven them from their out-works, the place was carried by aſſault, and the moſt part of thoſe within it put to the ſword. Ballenullen, Kilmore, and ſeveral more little caſtles yielded upon ſummons, ſo as except Ballehooly, all the country to the river of Blackwater was poſſeſſed by the confederates.

In the mean time the Iriſh army by the ſlow coming in of the applotments made for the maintenance of it, being reduced to great ſtreights, the earl of Caſtlehaven was forced to fall back to Kilmallock, and there to diſperſe it for ten days upon the delinquents counties, appointed that for the place of their rendezvous. But the lord of Inchiquin had no ſooner heard that the lord of Caſtlehaven had thus ſcattered the forces under his command; than he marches again to Ballymartine, making ſo good uſe of the opportunity given him, and preſſing the beſieged ſo vigorouſly, that they began to apprehend danger;

when notice being brought to the earl of Castlehaven of their distress, he marched directly with the army, which now was drawn again to a body, to the relief of them, and coming that night near the river of Black-water, he found it so swoln with much rain, that it was impossible to pass it; yet to make use of this stop given him, he summoned Ballehowly, which yielded upon quarter: next morning the army passed the river, and marching above Coule they discovered the enemy's horse, commanded by the lord of Broghill, that stood on the other side of the bridge near Castlelions to countenance the siege of Ballymartine, which upon advance of the army, softly retired towards Coreaby, the earl of Castlehaven still marching with as much speed as he could in the sight of an enemy. In the mean time the lord of Inchiquin, who had made a breach in the castle of Ballymartine, which yet the besieged had stopped up with loggs of wood and stuff of all sorts, having intelligence brought him of the approach of the army, drew up his men with intent to march away, but the besieged apprehending this as a preparation for an assault, called for a parley, and yielded the place, which was immediately burned, upon conditions that were not long a making. The lord of Inchiquin had no sooner drawn off his ordnance and retired to Barryse island, but the earl of Castlehaven came in sight of the town now on fire, where he encamped that night; and having intelligence brought him that colonel Henry Brien,

Brien, brother to the lord of Inchiquin, lieutenant colonel Courtney, captain Baker, captain Harding, and the dean of Ross, with others were gone to Rosslean to feast on those achates and provisions of March beer, and other good liquor, with which that house a few days before gained from the enemy, was plentifully furnished, having given order that a boat should before day attend to bring them back the next morning; the lord of Castlehaven prevented their return by laying siege to the place, whereupon there being no possibility of making resistance, and they being out of hope to be relieved, they yielded upon mercy. The officers were sent to Kilkenny, where the lord of Inchiquin's brother dying soon after, his body was brought to Cork and interred there; the rest were exchanged, and the soldiers of the garrison released upon their parole; but dean Barham as in compensation of the blood of the dean of Cork, was hanged at Castlelions, which with two or three shot of the cannon yielded and had fair quarter. Robertstown, Comie, Muugile, Kilmacow, Lisfirm, Maculup, Ballengarven, places not tenable against an army, yielded likewise upon summons. But Lismore, the lord of Cork's house, which was fortified and well manned, and commanded by major Power, nephew of Sir William Power, a valiant gentleman, held out resolutely, and after a breach made manfully repulsed the Irish that assaulted it, but the breach being enlarged, and the army drawn up to attempt

tempt it again, the major having no hope of relief, gave up the place and had fair quarter.

FROM Lismore the lord of Castlehaven moved the direct way to Youghall, the castles of Cromcally, Ballentra, and Temple Michell, which he summoned in his march, were surrendered upon quarter; but in Killentoury which refused conditions, and suffered the cannon to be planted and a breach to be made, it being taken upon mercy, lieutenant Smyth, who commanded it, was shot to death; the passage being now cleared and all obstacles being removed that might obstruct a free resort to the camp, the lord of Castlehaven sat down before Youghall, and the lord of Inchiquin, whose diligence to preserve it equalled the consequence of the place, immediately shipped as many men as he could conveniently draw out of his garrisons of Cork and Kingsale, with such provisions as then could be had in those towns, this succour arrived without any difficulty; the parliament fleet commanding the sea, and the lord of Castlehaven having no means to give impediment to the entry of shipping within the walls of the town; however Youghall being no otherwise fortified than with two or three redoubts and some slight horn works, he hoped by the help of his cannon to render himself master of it in a short time, and being intent to raise a work for planting his battery, as the ordnance was a drawing to be mounted, the besieged sallied out with such success as they beat all those that were to

guard

guard them, and tumbling down a precipice the greater piece, they drew a ſmall one into town, being not provided to nail the reſt, becauſe they knew not there was any cannon where they ſaw the enemy at work: the lord of Caſtlehaven being offended at the faint reſiſtance thoſe guards made, employed others, from whom he expected a better account of their actions to recover the ordnance out of the precipice, and having cauſed them to be again mounted, he made proviſions of gabions and baſkets which he ordered to be filled with earth for making a battery in another place; but a ſecond ſally being made by a greater number of men than the lord of Caſtlehaven believed to have been in the town, the guards of the new battery were not only beaten, but ſuch others as came to their relief, and they drove all that oppoſed them ſo far off, that they had leiſure to throw down what earth they had raiſed to make their battery and fill baſkets, and ſo retired without loſs into the town: the lord of Caſtlehaven obſerving how he might be always ſubject to ſuch miſtakes, and at no time be able to make a right judgment of the ſtrength of the town while nothing did curb the free and frequent entry of ſhipping into it, gave order to colonel James Walſh, who commanded the ordnance, to cauſe ſix pieces of cannon to be drawn through Temple Michell to the eaſt ſide of the river, and there to be planted to obſtruct the acceſs of ſuccour from ſea, and lieutenant colonel

nel James Barry was appointed for the conduct of three regiments of foot that were to guard the ordnance; this party in purſuance of the direction they had received coming by night to the ſtrand oppoſite to the town had time to plant their battery, and raiſe a little fort before morning, and with the break of day a ſhot was made at a parliament ſhip that rid at anchor in the river, which by accident gave fire to ſome powder in the ſhip which blew up the decks, and all the men on them; ſome ſhot likewiſe made into the town, killed many ſoldiers and ſome officers, and the inhabitants were much terrified, not only at the unexpected miſchief done amongſt them, but much more with the apprehenſion of being deprived of reliefs from ſea. This being done the lord of Caſtlehaven blocked the town at a diſtance on the other ſide, and removing the body of the army from place to place as he found it moſt convenient to encamp; he expected the coming of general Preſton, whom the council that applied their beſt endeavours to carry Youghall before the lord of Inchiquin received the ſupplies promiſed him by the parliament, had directed to march with a conſiderable part of the forces of Leinſter to expedite a work which they longed to ſee brought to perfection; but the ſame ſucceſs which at all times attended the reſolution of the confederates, when they intruſted two generals in one and the ſame expedition, accompanied this; for whether general Preſton thought he would be conſidered but

as

as having seconded the commander in chief of the province to which he was come, or that he was loth to hazard the weakening of his army; or that he really apprehended the difficulties which would happen in seeking to master the place, certain it is, he was of opinion the enterprize was not to be pursued, and thereupon marched back into Leinster, leaving not only the country ill satisfied with the course he had taken, but much offended at the unusual liberty the soldier assumed in his return.

THIS notwithstanding, the lord of Castlehaven continued still to block the town, and with the body of his army which was not engaged, he designed to attempt the taking of Barry's island, which by means of the situation of it, lying but two miles from Cork in the mouth of the harbour, the channel running so close to the shore, that all barks and boats which pass to Cork, must sail hard by it, was of very great consequence to the lord of Inchiquin, who was not ignorant how much it imported the city, which was his head quarters, and where he kept his residence, to have it preserved, always left three troops of horse and one hundred foot in this island, which being surrounded by the sea, and hardly to be entered at low water, but by one passage defended by a castle, he judged to be a number sufficient to defend it. The lord of Castlehaven, in pursuance of the design he had laid, gave order to major general Stephenstown to march in the beginning of the night with the party

party under his command, and to enter the island by the passage called Larghbegg, beyond Barry's court, intending himself to begin his march at such an hour, as he might be with him at break of day; the party inconsiderately went on without care to have their guide along with them, and the foot missing their way, they and the horse began to whoop and halloo one to another, which when those of Castlebarry perceived, by several shots and lighted torches, they gave an alarm to the forts in the island. It was now day break, and the earl of Castlehaven was come up to them, who seeing the ordinary passage strongly guarded, would not adventure to force it; but observing the strand clear for two or three miles, caused a passage to be attempted in several places in the view of all the enemy, who were as much exposed to the shot of the assailants; and they were already advanced as far as the middle of the channel, where although the mud was but knee deep, yet it was so tenacious and tough, that they slowly and with much difficulty drew out their legs, while the defendants thick showers of bullets light on those who could make no other use of their arms than to help themselves by them to ungrapple their feet that stuck in the mud. At length this precipitate advance concluded in as hasty a retreat as the assailants could make. At another passage, where the mud was not so deep, lieutenant Nugent with some foot passed over and took a fort that stood westward of Bellenelly, and made

captain

captain Baſnett, who commanded, priſoner; but the Iriſh horſe not being able to ſecond him, and ſome of them having ſtuck by the way in the attempt, major Power advancing with two troops of horſe, regained the fort, and took the lieutenant with captain Harbert and other priſoners; whereupon the lord of Caſtlehaven, deſpairing to force his entry into the iſland, retired with the loſs of ſome men carrying off the body of captain Tirlaugh O'Brien of Duogh, a ſtout gentleman, and of a very good family in Thomond; but he was no ſooner returned to the camp, than intelligence was brought him, that all the Engliſh horſe, to the number of three hundred, were gone ſixteen or ſeventeen miles from Cork to pry Roche's country, and drawing out a party of one thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, he marched with all diligence to get between them and home. In the mean time the Engliſh horſe laden with booty and wearied with gathering the preys, were come within four miles of Cork, out of the reach (as they took it) of any enemy, the Iriſh camp being twenty miles diſtant from them, and the horſe in the caſtle of Blarney, which was held for the confederates, not exceeding ſixty, and finding good graſs in that place for their horſes, the whole party toiled with having ſat on horſeback two days and a night, and overcome with want of ſleep, laid them down in two parties at the diſtance of a mile one from the other, to take their reſt. The lord of Inchiquin's regiment was that which was advanced neareſt Cork,

Cork, and the lord of Castlehaven, about eleven of the clock that night, fell in with his horse among them, that dreamed of nothing less than the approach of an enemy, and were all asleep save a corporal and twelve men that watched on the guard; these were charged by captain James Brown, a gallant gentleman, and though himself was killed at the first volley, yet his men routed the guard, revenging his death on all that came in their way, those only found safety, that befriended by the night, hid themselves in firbushes. News being brought of this defeat, by two or three that escaped to the lord of Broghill's regiment of horse, which lay short of them, they who believed this was done by the sixty horse in garrison at Blarney, marched hastily to assist their fellows, while at the same time the lord of Castlehaven, who understood from some of the prisoners, that the lord of Broghill's regiment was to pass by another way to the great island, immediately marched to intercept them; so as when the lord of Broghill's regiment came to the place where the other regiment was defeated, they met no enemy, the earl of Castlehaven being already marched to encounter them, where they were not. Thus fortune (making use of the assurance they gave themselves that this enemy was no other than the party at Blarney) preserved them, who doubtless, without attempting to succour the other regiment against so unequal a number of assailants, had sought safety by the way, where the lord of Castlehaven stood ready

to

to receive them. The news of this defeat being brought the lord of Inchiquin by an officer who knew no particulars of the defeat, and in whose countenance he saw so much fright, that he believed the man had not staid long enough to inform himself; immediately with a few of his horse-guard and some of his officers, in all sixty horse, never imagining the enemy could be other than the garrison of Blarney, rode to the place where he found none but the lord of Broghill's regiment, and the day then clearing, he might observe how many of the defeated regiment, who had by the benefit of the night, and the shelter of the furze, saved their lives, running out of the covert which had secured them, to take their horses that grazed in the next field; and with them and the rest of the party of the lord of Inchiquin, without receiving at that time any further information returned to Cork, while the earl of Castlehaven, falling back to Youghall, and finding his army that had already been discountenanced by the recess of general Preston, diminish daily; and that the season of the year was unfit for lying longer in the field, having put a garrison into the fort which was built to hinder the passage of shipping to Youghall, and manned the most important of the garrisons he had taken, passes the bridge of Capoquin, where the Munster commissioners, by command of the council, met the army, and disposed them into winter quarters.

THIS having been the ſucceſs of this ſummer ſervice in Munſter, we are to look back to Connaught, where the Engliſh and Scots, under the command of Sir Charles Coote, fallen from their obedience to the king's authority, ſtood in oppoſition to the ceſſation, and ſo far as they were able, harraſſed the country, pillaging the lord of Clanrickard's tenants, and burning the lodge of his park at Portumna.

THE lord lieutenant, moved by the many complaints daily ſent him, as well from the lord of Clanrickard, as others the inhabitants of that province, employed the lord viſcount Taaffe, now earl of Carlingford, by his commiſſion of the 24th of June, 1645, to raiſe forces and command them, and ſuch others as ſhould join with him, for ſuppreſſing of thoſe, who contrary to the ceſſation, ſhould attempt or commit any hoſtile act in that province, to the prejudice of his majeſty's ſubjects in their fortunes or eſtates, and thereupon the earl of Carlingford, with ſome Engliſh volunteers, Sir James Dillon's regiment of one thouſand foot and two troops of horſe, commanded by major Finglas and captain Barnwall of the Leinſter liſt, he marched into the county of Roſcommon, where he met with a party of horſe and foot raiſed by the lord of Clanrickard, and ſome auxiliaries from the confederates, ſo as finding his army to conſiſt of three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, upon intelligence brought him that major Robert Ormſby who commanded the party of refracto-

ries

ries in Connaught, was then at Tulsk with eight score horse and six hundred foot, he sent his brother, major Luke Taaffe, by night with all the horse, to invest the place, being confident that the forces within it were too few to defend a line of two miles compass and two castles, which they must have manned, the lord Taaffe having brought up the foot, summoned the place; and his summons with some insolence being rejected, he gave order for storming it, which being chearfully pursued, after an hour's dispute, the place, not without loss on both sides, was surrendered upon mercy. Those of the common soldiers who engaged to serve the king, were set free, the rest, upon their officer's parole, to pay their ransom, were dismissed. Their officers were disposed of in several places of restraint, and their commander, major Ormsby, obtained of the lord Taaffe to be given in charge to the lord of Bermingham, with whom he was formerly acquainted, and who, upon his parole, gave him the liberty of his house and the fields about it, which he deserved, having justly performed his word.

From thence the army marched to Elphin, which was surrendered upon summons, and thence to Castle-root and Jamestown, which having stood out some shot of the cannon, were at length given up, and had fair quarter.

Carrigdrumrusk likewise, garrisoned by Sir George St. George, and the Boyle, garrisoned by captain Francis King, having professed their obedience to his majesty's government, and

declared for the ceſſation, were left untouched. There was no doubt of Roſcommon, it being then in the hands of the lord of Ranelagh, who was actually there. Thus the province of Connaught ſaw the fort of Sligo, being freed from refractories, the lord of Carlingford, by order from the lord lieutenant, was called upon to Dublin, and major Luke Taaffe marched to Sligo with a good part of that army; and being ready to ſit down before it, intelligence was brought him that the Lurgan forces were on their march to relieve it; and the next morning his ſcouts having brought word that they ſaw a party of two hundred horſe advance ſtraight upon them, it was reſolved in a council of war they ſhould retreat; but the enemy's horſe commanded by the lord of Colloony and colonel John Coote, being come up to the rear, they with little reſiſtance diſperſed and routed them, killing the archbiſhop of Tuam (who by much intreaty had obtained of the truſtees a copy of the earl of Glamorgan's ſecret conceſſions) and ſome others, and taking many priſoners.

While the war is thus managed in Munſter and Connaught, the general aſſembly was convened at Kilkenny, where the treaty of peace, which by ſeveral overtures and intermiſſions continued in ſuſpence, took up a long debate, not in relation to thoſe articles by which a ſatisfactory proviſion was made for the temporalties of the confederates, but concerning the reſtitution of the churches they poſſeſſed, which they inſiſted

ſiſted to retain, and which the king by abſolute and poſitive commands directed to be reſtored. In the height of thoſe altercations, and while the lord of Clanrickard, then at Kilkenny by direction of the lord lieutenant, was in a good forwardneſs to moderate their difference to a juſt temper, the earl of Glamorgan came out of England, and finding where the knot of the difficulty lay that obſtructed the peace, and conſequently the aſſiſtance to be given the king, without buſying himſelf, or ſpending time to untie it, he, by his private conceſſions in his majeſty's name, which the king diſavowed, as not being done by warrant from him, cut it aſunder; and thereupon that impediment being removed, the articles of peace were ſoon after mutually ſigned and ſealed on the 28th of March, and depoſited in the hands of the lord of Clanrickard, until the publication and proclamation which was to be in May following.

The lord Liſle, with authority from the parliament, limited to a day prefixed in his commiſſion, came about this time into Ireland, to act as lieutenant of the kingdom, bringing with him one hundred and twenty horſe, and five thouſand foot, who did little; and thoſe attempts he made were ſucceſsful, ſo as the time of his government being within a few days to expire, he reſolved to join his brother, who was his lieutenant, the lord of Broghill and Sir Hardreſs Waller in commiſſion with the lord of Inchiquin, to command the army; and having acquainted the

lord of Inchiquin, with the result of the council, in that behalf, upon the lord of Inchiquin's refusal to admit of any partners in the trust which was solely to be executed by himself; the lord Lisle, by several posts, sent for all the field officers in the garrisons, immediately to repair to Cork, removing the lord of Inchiquin's regiment from thence, and drawing in his own; the officers having met, and the day being come, whereon his own commission was to expire, he sent for the lord of Broghill's regiment of horse into town, and gave order they should be drawn up before the lord of Inchiquin's house, and that his own regiment of foot should stand to their arms, charge their musquets, and light matches, causing the gates to be shut, and all men to be kept out, but such as were known to be of his faction; this being done, he sent his brother with the lord of Broghill, and all those officers he had sent for, to the lord of Inchiquin; to whom his brother declared, that the lord lieutenant being to repair into England, they were come with a commission signed by him, wherein his lordship was joined with those other three persons, to command the army; to which the lord of Inchiquin answered, "That the command of the army belonged to him, by virtue of letters patents, under the great seal of England; and that he could not postpone that authority to paper commission of my lord lieutenant's, but that lest the officers of the army should run into an error, through his want of care to let them

them know their duty, he was ready to ſhew them the authority he had, and if then they ſhould think fit to obey my lord Liſle, rather than him, he would employ no force to compel them to the contrary, though he knew he might do it lawfully, but would retire into England, to give an account of the truſt repoſed with him, and the violence that was that day done to the authority given him." The lieutenant-general ſaid, "he came not to expoſtulate any thing with his lordſhip, but to offer to accompany him for the publication of my lord lieutenant's commiſſion, which if he refuſed, they were to publiſh it without him, it being directed to any three of them, in caſe the fourth ſhould be either incapable or unwilling:" whereupon, he withdrew with all thoſe that came with him, and went ſtraight where the council of war, who had been warned by the lord lieutenant to meet at that hour, were gathered. The lord of Inchiquin, as ſoon as they were gone, took thoſe commiſſions he had, both from the parliament and the king, and followed them to the place, where he arrived, juſt as the commiſſion from the lord Liſle had been read; and being come in, he addreſſed himſelf to the officers, ſaying, he came not there in purſuance of the ſummons given by the lieutenant-general; but to acquit himſelf of that truſt which was repoſed in him; in the diſcharge whereof, he found himſelf obliged to premoniſh them of the danger which he ſaw them like to be involved in by the lord

lieutenant and his council, whose authority, he said, he knew would be determined within one hour: that although he saw a regiment of horse drawn up at his door, with pistols charged, and the garrison all in arms, with matches lighted, to awe him; yet he would not be deterred from any circumstance of his duty, which was to let them know, that if after the expiration of the lord Lisle's commission, which was limited to twelve o'clock that day, they should obey any other authority than that he had there to shew them, they would be guilty of treason; and then he caused his secretary to deliver his commission to be read. As soon as lieutenant-general Sidney heard the lord of Inchiquin declare he came not to comply with the lord lieutenant's orders, he retired, and with him the lord of Broghill, Sir Hardress Waller, lieutenant Harrison, and two or three more, who said they were not called thither to hear of any other authority, but that given by the lord lieutenant, who could not be thought to be less faithful to the state of England, nor less trusted by them than the lord of Inchiquin; and that therefore he thought none of them ought to stay there any longer: however, the rest of the officers staid, and desired to hear the lord of Inchiquin's commission read, which being given them, his lordship withdrew, to leave them the liberty of considering what they ought to do, wherein they spent the time till twelve o'clock, being the hour that determined the lord Lisle's commission; and then all those

thoſe officers, to the number of eighty (whereof at leaſt twenty had rid all that night, by the lord Liſle's orders, who deſigned they ſhould ſerve him in that occaſion) came ſtraight to the lord of Inchiquin's houſe, where they declared to him, that they ſaw clearly their obedience was due to him, and that if the lord Liſle, and the lord of Broghill, did uſe any violence againſt him, they would not be acceſſary to it; to which the lord of Inchiquin anſwered, "that he was glad they were as well witneſſes of the lord Liſle's proceedings that day, as ſenſible of their duty; but that he expected no more from them, than the oppoſition of their conſents, which they promiſed, and ſent one immediately from them to let the lord Liſle know, that certainly he was ill-adviſed, and that the parliament would much condemn his proceedings againſt the lord of Inchiquin that day; this his lordſhip rejected with ſcorn, ſending them word, they were to obey, not to adviſe him, who had a council qualified for that purpoſe by the parliament, by whoſe advice he acted: however, the officers finding his commiſſion was then expired (the date whereof he had concealed from them) did not think proper to obey him, which gave his lordſhip occaſion to ſit an hour with his ſelect friends, whereof two, namely, Sir Adam Loftus and Sir John Temple, were of the council, and having taken his reſolution, he ſent them to my lord of Inchiquin, who told him, that they were ſorry, with all their hearts, his lordſhip had proceeded

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ſo far, to miſlead the officers of the army, againſt their duty, that certainly the truſt repoſed by the parliament with him, could not come in balance with that they had committed to the lord lieutenant, who would have many advantages over his lordſhip, whenever that ſhould come to be queſtioned; and therefore, that they as counſellors of ſtate, and his friends, adviſed him of the danger he did precipitate himſelf into, if he ſhould occaſion one part of the army to oppoſe the other, employing thoſe ſwords to their own deſtruction (and conſequently for the enemy) which ſhould be employed for the Engliſh intereſt againſt them, that my lord Liſle had, with their advice, found it expedient, for the encouragement of the army he had brought, to go on chearfully in the ſervice, to join ſome of thoſe officers that came along with them, in the command with him, till the parliament ſhould take further order; and that ſeeing he was left chief in commiſſion (notwithſtanding colonel Sidney's being lieutenant-general of the army) the parliament would make ill conſtructions of his actions; and in concluſion, they ſaid, that his concurrence, after the inconſiderate declaration of the officers to obey him, would be an act, which would merit the parliament's greater regard of him, ſince they could not but conſider that he was not led by any ambition or private intereſt. To this the lord of Inchiquin anſwered, that he would always acknowledge an obligation to all that had friendly intentions in their councils; and therefore, he thanked

thanked them for their care of him, but that he believed and was confident they were mistaken, both in his duty and their own, for his part he would not postpone the authority of parliament under the great seal of England, to a paper, illegal commission; and that he thought withal they would be questioned not only for the approbation they had given thereof, but also for not opposing that day's proceedings, that the concurrence of the officers that came over with my lord Lisle (except those few that being interested, had joined themselves with the lord of Broghill, to supplant him) together with those before them in the kingdom, who were all ready to obey him, did make it manifest that there was no division like to be in the army, that would march unanimously against the enemy, if the contrary were not occasioned by them who took unwarrantable ways, that would not be approved by the parliament, being they were manifestly against their authority; and that therefore he conceived it was their duty to advise my lord Lisle, to wish those that had more regard to his will, than their own duty, to join with their companions in obeying that authority, that which was extant from the parliament among them: those men finding the lord of Inchiquin resolved against any compliance with their desire, said they would employ their endeavours to dispose him to all moderation in his proceedings, but that they doubted he would persist in the course he had taken; and so they

returned

returned to give him an account of what had passed between them and the lord of Inchiquin, whose resolution did somewhat surprize the lord Lisle, who believed, that seeing the posture of the garrison, he durst not have opposed, and being in great rage, he swore he would immediately send him prisoner into England; but his council having persuaded him that his commission being expired, which the lord of Inchiquin well knew, and had publickly declared it to the officers, he had not authority to do what he might have done two hours sooner; on the contrary, that if my lord of Inchiquin appeared with those officers that gave him obedience in the head of the men, and declared to them, that he and his council acted without authority, and to the prejudice of the publick service, the lord of Inchiquin might possibly make his lordship and his council prisoners; whereupon it was concluded, that they might not attempt any thing of that kind, but that seeing yet those that were in arms in the garrison were at their devotion, they should endeavour to compass their ends by a threat, and for that purpose, sent the same two persons back to the lord of Inchiquin, to let him know that they had made the lord Lisle acquainted with his resolution and reasons, but that they feared he was resolved to exact that by force, which he could not otherwise compass. That he might see men drawn up before his window, and two thousand men armed in and about the town, ready to execute his commands, who

who might ſend him priſoner into England, if he pleaſed; and therefore, that they deſired his lordſhip once more to reflect on the neceſſity of complying with the lord Liſle, to avoid a miſchief that might give the enemy great advantage.

When they came with this meſſage, the lord of Inchiquin was in his dining room, among all thoſe officers that promiſed obedience, and he had no ſooner heard out thoſe ambaſſadors, than he repeated their meſſage aloud to the officers, and withal told them that he had been ſo much a ſtranger to all deſigns, ſince the lord lieutenant's coming into Ireland, that he did not wonder to ſee the ſoldiers in the city, in the poſture they were in, though he knew not the reaſon; and he could not, till then, imagine that the lord Liſle, who pretended ſo much integrity, and ſo much merit in the parliament ſervice, ſhould deſign to employ them to make him a priſoner, becauſe he executed rather the commiſſion of the parliament, under the great ſeal of England, than the paper he had ſigned, to diveſt him of the authority they had given him; that he thought fit to let them know this, that they might be witneſſes of it, but that he did not expect any man ſhould draw his ſword againſt any violence that ſhould be offered; on the contrary, he forbade them to do it, ſaying, he had courage to ſuffer all that ſhould be attempted againſt him, rather than betray his truſt and honour by an unworthy ſubmiſſion to ſuch inſolence,

lence, but that he would not engage them in blood against their comrades; and that the states service might receive prejudice thereby: he added then, that the lord Lisle was as much obliged to give him obedience, as he had been some few hours before to him; and therefore, wished those ambassadors to go back immediately to him, and let him know, that he protested in the presence of those officers, that the lord Lisle could not attempt any thing against him, wherein the honour and interest of the parliament was not equally concerned; and if he durst injure them, he durst suffer, rather than see the authority blemished; this he spoke in so fierce and resolute a tone, that the two counsellors retired without further reply, sufficiently affrighted.

My lord Lisle seeing this last attempt prove vain, immediately sends away by boat his trunks with his monies, plate, and what he had of importance, to the vice-admiral Crowder, with orders to him, to take them into the ship, and to be ready to set sail in the morning, as soon as his lordship should come to him; but the vice-admiral being advertised of what had passed in the town before their arrival, refused to receive them, saying, his lordship had no further authority, and that it was the lord of Inchiquin's warrant he was to have; which answer being brought suddenly back to the lord Lisle, put him and his council into an extreme rage, and no less confusion; but in an hour they grew calm and so humble, as they sent to the lord of

Inchiquin,

Inchiquin, to intreat him to be pleaſed, that he would give order to the ſhipping, to receive the lord Liſle's trunks; and that ſuch of the officers as would go along with him, not exceeding half a ſcore, might have licence, which being granted, he departed the kingdom.

THUS having related the warlike actions in the year 1645, during the gentleman's abſence, who was employed to foreign parts; I ſhall now deſcend to let the reader know how thenceforth thoſe civil affairs which were no leſs various and more intricate have been managed.

IT is related before, how the marquis of Antrim having laid aſide the thoughts of being admitted to be lieutenant-general, applied himſelf to the ſervice in Scotland, wherein the confederates were willing to aſſiſt him, knowing of what advantage it would be to his majeſty's ſervice, and how much it would conduce to their own affairs, that ſome diverſion ſhould be made in Scotland, which might withdraw that nation from aſſiſting ſo powerfully with their forces the parliament of England, and might better the condition of that renowned loyal nobleman the earl of Montroſs, ſent two thouſand men in veſſels freighted by direction of the lord lieutenant, by Patrick Archer, a merchant of Kilkenny, into Scotland, where in ſome encounters with the malignant party of the Scots, they ſeaſonably and uſefully aſſiſted that worthy man. But the marquis of Antrim, who in hope of being able to procure a further ſupply, ſtaid behind them, within

within ten days after his arrival in Scotland; which was in July 1646, met with commands from his majesty, which gave a stop to the progress of that expedition, for his majesty having as himself declared it in his letter of the 3d of April, that having used all possible and honourable means, by sending many gracious messages to the two houses of parliament, wherein he offered them all they heretofore desired; and desired from them nothing but what themselves, since these unhappy wars have offered, to procure our personal treaty with them, from a safe and well-grounded peace; and having, instead of a dutiful and peaceable return to his said messages, and having very lately received very good security, he resolved to put himself to the hazard of passing to the Scots army, now before Newark.

The king having with great confidence, and such assurance, intrusted his person with the Scottish army, and conceiving it not only necessary, as to the further obliging of that nation, but advantageous also as to the strengthening of himself by them, to disband the forces, which while he stood in opposition, were raised by his authority, and had very successfully by his commission prosecuted the war; wherefore his majesty, by his letters directed to the committee of estates of his kingdom of Scotland, from Newcastle, the 19th of May 1646, and his proclamation dated from the same place, the 30th of May 1646, having commanded the disbanding

disbanding of all forces raised by authority from him in that kingdom.

And besides this general proclamation, his majesty, by his letters from Newcastle, dated the 19th of June 1646, writes to his council of Scotland, that it being that day represented to him by their commissioners, that the marquis of Antrim was landed in Kinteer, with some forces from Ireland, he had sent by lieutenant-colonel Robert Heer, to the marquis of Antrim; and renewing the same commands by Sir James Lesly, for his present leaving the kingdom of Scotland, with those he brought with him, &c.

Thus this expedition was frustrated, and the Scots having provided for their own quiet at home, by causing those to be disbanded, who without dissimulation appeared in arms for the king's real interest, they soon after, by the mediation of a large reward, out of abundance of brotherly kindness, gratified the then parliament faction in England, by delivering up to them the person of their king, whose confidence in them put a fouler vizard on their monstrous breach of faith; and those men being possessed of the booty they so long looked for, not only laid their hands on God's anointed, but to make the tragedy the more execrable ———!

The Third Book of the War of IRELAND.

THE earl of Glamorgan having, (as we have formerly mentioned) by his private conceſſions removed the obſtacle which kept the treaty of peace ſo long in agitation, and being by vote of the late aſſembly choſen to command the 10,000 men to be ſent into England, which he freely offered to furniſh with arms and a train of artillery, and to find ſhipping for tranſporting them at his own charge, went to Dublin to conſult with the lord lieutenant of many circumſtances that concerned that mighty affair; but by that time copies of his private conceſſions taken in the archbiſhop of Tuam's portmanteau, when he was killed, was in the hands of the parliament, and at length were brought to his majeſty's ſecretary; the lord of Digby being then with the lord lieutenant at Dublin, who to diſcharge the duty of his place, being very ſenſible of the inconvenience which thoſe conceſſions would bring with them, cauſed the earl of Glamorgan to be apprehended and made priſoner in the caſtle, who being examined at council board, acknowledged the fact, and ſaid he had done nothing therein without the privity of the lord lieutenant. It muſt have been a great temper

temper that could have prevailed over his excellency's aſtoniſhment to have ſo odious a matter impoſed upon him in ſuch a preſence; ſo as applying himſelf to the council, "my lords," (ſaid he) "I am not conſcious to myſelf that I "have tranſacted, or given way to the tranſ-"action of any thing in the whole treaty with "the Iriſh which I have not communicated to "you; but I may be excuſed if I did not ac-"quaint you with this under-hand practice, this, "upon my honour, being the firſt time that ever "I heard on't. Now, my lord," ſaid he, applying his ſpeech to the earl of Glamorgan, "your "aſſeverartion and my denial, leaving the truth "as obſcure as to this contrivance of yours it will "be expected, you ſhould alledge ſome circum-"ſtance that may give us a further light to look "into the matter, have you any writing under "my hand, which, in prudence, you ought to "have demanded, to excuſe you to the king my "maſter." The earl anſwered he had not; he was aſked who was preſent when he ſpoke to him of it, at what time and in what place, the earl anſwered, that he had not by word of mouth acquainted his excellency with his proceedings therein, but he gave him a paper ſealed and ſubſcribed to his lordſhip, which contained the whole matter. The lord lieutenant, after a little pauſe calling to mind, that the earl of Glamorgan had two months before left a paper ſealed in his hands; he aſked the earl whether upon delivery of that paper to him (which

he now remembered he had in his cuſtody) he did not engage him, upon his honour, not to open it until his lordſhip did return into England, or give further direction concerning it; to which the earl anſwered, that it was true he did ſo: whereupon the lord lieutenant gave Sir Paul Davis, then clerk of the council, the keys of his cloſet and of his deſk, and wiſhed him to bring that ſealed letter, which, ſays he to the earl of Glamorgan, I put in your lordſhip's preſence into the drawer of my deſk which lies fartheſt to the right hand: the earl having acknowledged that he ſaw him put it in that drawer, then there it lies ſince untouched by me, ſays the lord lieutenant, and there, Mr. Davis, you ſhall find it. In the mean time the council ſat ſilent full of thoughts, not being able to make any probable conjecture of what this myſtery would produce. At length the clerk of the council being returned with the letter, the lord lieutenant gave it from hand to hand to the council, who being ſatisfied that the ſeal was untouched, he wiſhed the earl of Glamorgan to look on it, who having acknowledged it, and that it was intire, the lord lieutenant commanded the clerk to break it open and to read it, who as ſoon as he diſplayed a ſheet of paper incloſed in that cover, met with many hundred figures of cart-wheels, pot-hooks, ſtars, demicircles, and ſuch like hieroglyphics, with which the paper was filled; the clerk ſtood mute, and being again commanded to read it, he deſired to

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be excuſed, and laid the paper upon the table before the lord lieutenant, who ſmiling, deſired the council to aſſiſt him with their advice in ſo intricate a matter; and the paper having gone the circuit of the board, coming to the lord Glamorgan, he ſaid that he had forgotten to leave the lord lieutenant the cypher; yet, ſays his excellency, I hope your lordſhip will remember thoſe two things, the firſt is, that I have performed my promiſe in not opening your letter; the next is, that in caſe I had opened it, you were ſo ingenious as to provide that I ſhould not be able to decipher the ſecrets of it; and then the earl being ſent back, continued priſoner for ſome time.

In the mean time the nuncio who before his arrival in Ireland had notice by Mr. Geofry Barron, then again employed to agitate the confederates affairs in the court of France, of the earl of Glamorgan's private conceſſions, finding that himſelf would be conſidered at Rome but as a man that came to look on thoſe affairs, which in the time of his predeceſſor father Scarampi, were upon the matter wholly tranſacted, and conſequently that he would fail of thoſe pretenſions that he might have to a cardinal's cap, which he was ſaid to have aimed at, moved every ſtone to make room for his appearing to have contributed ſomewhat of his own to the further advantage of catholick religion, and began at that time to lay an early foundation for thoſe deſigns, which after ended in the ruin of the kingdom:

and as he and a party of the natives who were forward to second his resolutions, omitted nothing to hinder the delivering of the articles of peace which now only remained to compleat the work. So the lord lieutenant was not only compelled to struggle with the passions of some men of his party that were as averse to peace, but he met with difficulties of another nature, and far more dangerous to his person; for those that favoured the parliament of England seeing the addition of strength the king was to acquire by the settlement of Ireland, meant, by seizing on the castle of Dublin and the lord lieutenant, who then lived in it, or killing him, to break off all hope of quieting that kingdom, and consequently of the assistance which might be expected from it; and now the design was so far advanced as seven of the conspirators, whereof one was a serjeant, were already in the court-yard, and a greater number of their followers were entering the gate, when captain Ralph Caprion, the lord lieutenant's steward, a resolute strong man, having by chance some of the servants with him, ran to the serjeant, and not without struggling, disarmed him, calling aloud to the wardens that stood at the gate, to draw up the bridge, which being done, and the rest of the party seized on by the guard whom the noise of the scuffle had drawn together; the steward led the serjeant to the gallery, where the lord lieutenant then was, who asking the fellow what his intention was, he resolutely answered, to

seize

seize the castle, and on him and his family; and being demanded by whose instigation he had undertaken that enterprize, he answered they should know no more from him; yet after a while desiring he might speak in private with his lordship, he retired with him behind a curtain drawn at the further end of the gallery, expecting that the serjeant intended to reveal those that set him a work, but the fellow after some resolute answers given to some questions propounded to him, knitting his brows, he thrust his hand hastily into his pocket offering to draw somewhat out which he could not do readily by reason the cock of the pistol stuck in the leather, which the lord lieutenant observing, suddenly took him by the wrist, and dragging him without the curtain, captain Capron and others coming in, the pistol was found and known to belong to one of the officers of the army. The desperate assassinate being conveyed to prison, and resolving obstinately not to discover those that engaged him, and his fellows knew no more than that they were to obey him. The lord lieutenant was in trouble how to find out the bottom of the design, and therefore that he might understand before he descended to particulars, how far it had spread among the soldiers of the garrison, he gave orders that search should be made in each company which of them had disobeyed the direction he had formerly given, that no more than three in a company should have their muskets charged, the scarcity of am-

munition in the magazine having introduced this way of husbanding it; and when return was made that twelve, that sixteen, and in some companies twenty muskets were found charged, he concluded it was fitter in a danger of that extent, to counterfeit ignorance, than by enquiry to make all those enemies who were conscious of their own guilt. However it being necessary that so publick an attempt should not pass unpunished, the serjeant only was condemned to suffer; and when some of the council were earnest with the lord lieutenant to have the prisoner privately executed, lest the soldiers should be prevailed with to rescue him, he absolutely rejected that motion, as giving encouragement to the conspirators by the apprehension of fear, which he must be thought to entertain by so unusual a course of having justice to be administered, and therefore caused him to be led to the publick place of execution, and there in the sight of all men without precipitation or increasing the ordinary guard, to suffer death.

The supream council highly resenting the earl of Glamorgan's imprisonment, who interposed his majesty's authority in securing to the nation the most important part of their desires, had resolved by force of arms (if they could not otherwise) to procure his liberty, convened an assembly; but before their meeting, the earl by producing an instrument which contained a full release and disclaimer of his private concessions, to which the names of those that made that contract

tract with them were put, was discharged upon 20,000*l.* bonds entered into for his appearance by the lords of Antrim and Clanrickard, and that assembly which was to be called to make the distance greater, was now met to confirm the articles of peace, and to prepare matters for them, the council and committee who frequently sat, resolved two difficulties which appeared in the case. The first was concerning the validity of the earl of Glamorgan's concessions, which now grew to be a question, because that not only the nobleman was imprisoned and charged with a suspicion of high treason for having agreed to them, but that the king himself in his message of the 29th of January, 1645, to the parliament of England, had absolutely disavowed him in those concessions, as highly derogatory to his honour and royal dignity, and most prejudicial to the protestant religion and church of Ireland, which concessions nevertheless were the grounds they relied on for matters of religion, little upon that subject being mentioned in the publick articles, to be concluded with the marquis of Ormond, save that in the first article the confederates were to have the benefit of all his majesty's further concessions, which general words were inserted by them with a tacit relation of the agreement made with the earl of Glamorgan.

This notwithstanding it was resolved by the king's disavowing the earl of Glamorgan, and what he acted in his name, to which he might have been forced by the iniquity of the times, overtook

overtook not his authority unexecuted, and therefore did not disannul what already was perfected, and that the earl's imprisonment rendered not any contract of his made before invalid, so as by a strange concurrence of things opposite, the confederates meant to force a bargain upon the king, which the condition of the times made unsafe for him to enter into or avow, and that his own condition (considering the army to be brought to his assistance) might well justify, if desired by him; for about this time, or not long after, the king's state was such, as neither his offer of coming to London upon the faith of the two houses to treat with his parliament, nor his grant of the militia to be for seven years solely regulated by the parliament, and after the expiration of that term by the king and parliament, nor his resolution (whereof he advertised them) to comply with his parliament in every thing that should be for the happiness of his subject, was satisfactory.

The second difficulty was, that not long after the archbishop of Fermo departed from Rome upon his nunciature for Ireland, the queen of England had by a gentleman of quality employed to Rome begun a treaty with the pope, which not only tended to the upholding of catholick religion in Ireland, but to the great ease and comfort of catholicks in the king's other dominions, for which the pope was to contribute towards the maintenance of an army to be drawn out of Irelaud for the king's assistance thirty

thousand

thousand pounds monthly; and matters seemed so fully accorded, that the nuncio received from cardinal Pamphilio, the pope's nephew, an abstract of the articles of that agreement in cipher much about that time, and having thereupon demanded audience of the general assembly, then sitting in the castle of Kilkenny, he who could readily and gracefully express his mind in the Latin tongue; first letting them know how much his holiness was interested in their concernments, who with such unwearied care laboured to promote their affairs, as he had upon the matter neglected the Turk's menaces to invade Europe, the Swedes growing power, and the emperor's necessities, together with many other occasions of useful and meritorious expences nearer home, for the sole benefit which might acrue to the confederate catholicks, by his particular application of his thoughts and treasure to the glorious war wherein they were engaged; and that his master had so vigorously pursued their good endeavours for the establishment of catholick religion, as without any regard of the constant charge, which by contract with the queen of England he was to undergo for the future, he was to procure them *pinguiora et uberiora beneficia*, more ample benefit than they could expect by any other peace; and therefore desired them to suspend the conclusion of this agitated with the marquis of Ormond until the kealnds of May, by which time he would produce the original articles of that agreement.

agreement. These, and many other things tending much to the advantage of the confederates were then said, nay, it was promised that in case this treaty with the queen should meet with any such opposition as would hinder the conclusion of it, that then whatsoever was designed for the succour of the king in England should be wholly employed to the use of the confederates. To me * who heard this discourse, and knew the peoples inclination to novelties, and the reverence they bare to the see apostolick, it appears very strange (when I reflect on it) how little impression it made in the audience, whereof I conceive those to have been the reasons: the nuncio had already lost much of the reverence borne his person, and the good opinion which by his oration at his reception, men entertained of his inclination to peace, for besides that the object was grown less rare, and that time had given to mens judgments, as to their eyes, respite to survey him, his precise exactness in the least formalities, the great distance between his composed reservedness and the open free-hearted nature of the Irish, lessened the esteem which the nation, at first sight, had for him; so as those qualities which gained him the reputation of an excellent courtier at Rome, did in some manner contribute to render him an useless minister in Ireland, and he discovered his aversion to peace not many days after his

* The author one of the confederate assembly.

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coming to Kilkenny, when having underſtood the progreſs of the treaty with the lord of Ormond, he told the biſhop of Killalloe, that if the council and committee did conclude it, he would take the biſhops with him and leave the kingdom.

There was yet a further reaſon wherefore his diſcourſe was not ſatisfactory even to thoſe who ſeconded him in all the oppoſitions, which during his being in the kingdom he gave to the ſupream council; for the northern party, though they might have been well contented to ſee catholick religion eſtabliſhed in Ireland, after a manner acceptable to the pope, yet there being no proviſion made for the reſtitution of any of thoſe vaſt eſtates forfeited to the crown by the attainder of the great men in that province; they were unwilling to give ear to any peace that left them in no better condition than they were before, and this to be concluded by the pope's mediation perhaps pleaſed them leaſt, becauſe it probably would be more ſtable and permanent, and might not only diſcountenance, but prove fatal to their intentions; moreover there wanted not ſome who believed it a mere pretence ſuggeſted to interrupt the treaty with the marquis of Ormond, to which he had formerly expreſſed ſo much averſion. But it is certain that the king was real, and that the pope was not only engaged in his promiſe, but in his affection for it, until another party having made offer of reſtoring the king, ſo the papiſts were declined

declined the influence which they then had, and not then first, upon some incredit with the queen was such as she directed the treaty with the pope should be dexterously managed, so as not to be broken off, yet by no means concluded. But the old man had soon discovered not only by the now calmness of the application, which with importunity and much fervour was wont to be made to him upon that subject, but by the protections used on the queen's part, who became the solicitor, that by the negociation somewhat more was practised than he understood, and therefore laid it clear aside. These, in my judgment, seem partly to have been the reasons which moved the assembly to receive that proposition with so much indifferency, as it was generally believed, that nothing but the performance of the condition for sending over ten thousand men to the king, which was insisted upon, did hinder the perfecting and publishing of the peace before that assembly broke up, and the nation would not have thought they had herein disobliged the pope, or hazarded the protection he had offered their cause, since in the articles they were to conclude with the marquis of Ormond, there was left sufficient latitude for securing to them all the king's concessions, under which title that agreement with the pope might be contained. However, this impediment prevented any debate in the matter, and the desired suspension being granted, there was kind of a tripartite instrument made between the

the confederates, the lord nuncio and the earl of Glamorgan, whereof the substance was, that the respite should be given until the kalends of May; and the nuncio failing then, or before, to produce the original of the peace said to be agitated at Rome, he should content himself with such agreement as he could make with the earl of Glamorgan, for it seems the earl had persuaded the nuncio that he could renew and enlarge his power from the king; and the nuncio thought it would be for his honour, in case his master should fail to be himself seen in adding somewhat for the advantage of catholick religion. But certain it is, that the assembly to whom all the articles of the peace to be concluded with the lord lieutenant, together with the private concessions of the earl of Glamorgan, (upon which notwithstanding the king's disavowing of them, they resolved to insist) were read, looked on the performance of the condition for sending over the men as the sole obstacle which gave interruption to the conclusion of the peace, and therefore they spent many days in the earnest debate of that matter in naming officers, in charging each province with their proportion of the men, and appointing means for the maintaining them at the water side; and then, after they had sworn the new council, and made an order, that those of the late council should join with the council and committee, and all of them meet on the first of May, to remove any obstruction which might be laid in the way of a perfect

perfect settlement (the council and committee likewise had already named such as they meant should be received into these places of trust in the government, to which by the agreement made with the lord lieutenant the catholicks were to be admitted, and because they would be sure before the conclusion of the peace to fill all the vacant sees with bishops, that so they might have some colourable argument for the exclusion of protestants from being named to those bishopricks, which they should find furnished to their hand;) they voted thirteen postulations all at a time: which act of theirs, although intended for the good of catholick religion, yet in the revolutions which after happened, contributed very much to introduce those calamities and general desolation which overspread the kingdom, and were fatal to the nation, for the nuncio was not only fortified notably by those additional prelates, but he making use at Rome of the confederate desire to have that number, supplied some places with creatures of his own, not named by the council and committee, who in favour of him employed themselves violently against the government.

IMMEDIATELY upon the recess of the assembly, the council issued warrants to have four thousand men drawn out of the standing forces of the province of Leinster and Munster, and two thousand more from the other provinces, placing them under the command of those nominated by the assembly, and prefixing a day for their

their being at Ballehacke, and Paſſage, places commodious for their embarking, as being ſituated the one on Leinſter ſide of the river of Waterford in the county of Wexford, the other on Munſter ſide, in the county of Waterford. Moreover, they gave out commiſſions for levying the remaining four thouſand men which were to be tranſported in a ſecond miſſion, and laid embargoes upon all veſſels both in the river of Waterford and in the harbours of Wexford and Dungarvon; and as no induſtry was omitted on their part, ſo there was not any occaſion ſince the beginning of the war, wherein the council found more hearty willingneſs in the people to bear any charge that might conduce to the advancement of it, but many impediments intervened, which broke off that deſign.

FIRST, the earl of Glamorgan, who from the beginning had undertaken amply, and was no ſcrupulous promiſer, having made offer to procure ſhipping, and to provide for tranſporting and arming the men, at his proper charges, was fallen into great ſtraights, notwithſtanding that monſieur De Molines, the French agent, had at that time furniſhed him with two thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling, ſent over with him to the confederate catholicks by the queen regent in France; ſo as both the ſhips of burthen, and the men of war which were to convey them, were not to be had.

SECONDLY, the parliament was about this time grown formidable in North Wales, and had taken in ſome places deſigned for the landing of

the army; and the commanders represented to the council the evident danger to which those men would be exposed, that had no place secure for their descent, nor horse to be a countenance to their landing, or to advance with them to any safe retreat.

THIRDLY, the earl of Thomond, who before lived peaceably without offending the country, in his castle of Bunratty, admitted into it at this very time a garrison of eight hundred foot and threescore horse, most of them reformed officers, and sailing into England, left that place, which was plentifully provided of victuals, and so seated, as the garrison might from thence make excursions into the rich countries which for threescore miles long bordered upon the Shannon, in the hands of the parliament, under the command of captain Mc Adam, a stout officer, who began immediately to raise works to strengthen the castle, which by reason of the marshes with which it was invironed, might in a short time be upon the matter impregnably fortified.

THE council having for those reasons laid aside all hope of being able to send the army into England, commanded some of the forces of the Munster list, then lying at Cashell, in expectation to be drawn to the water-side, to rise from thence, and to march to the county of Clare, there to restrain the inroads which the garrison of Bunratty daily made into the country, until such time as a greater force should be sent

ſent to beſiege them; and they immediately informed the lord lieutenant of the obſtacles with which they had met, beſeeching him that this their miſſion, inforced upon them by inevitable neceſſity, might not deprive them of the benefit of that ſettlement in the kingdom, which they earneſtly deſired, and from which the king might draw advantages of far greater conſequence for his ſervice, than were thoſe ſuccours which for the preſent lay not in their power to afford him. While matters are thus at a ſtand, advertiſement was given the confederates, that Munroe appointed a rendezvous for his party, which he had now made more numerous with an increaſe of new raiſed men, with intention to fall upon Newry, Dundalk, and other maritime towns within the Engliſh quarters, and that the Scots of Tyrconnel were to meet in a body of three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to invade Connaught. The confederates were alarmed at this intelligence, taking themſelves to be much concerned in any loſs the Engliſh under command of the marquis of Ormond ſhould receive; not only becauſe of the peace, which they expected would be ſhortly proclaimed between them, but alſo by reaſon that party with which they were irreconcileable, ſhould acquire more ſtrength thereby, and be poſſeſſed of places not far diſtant from their own beſt quarters, ſo commodious for receiving, at a much nearer diſtance to the confederates than they formerly did, ſuch ſupplies as came to them out of Scotland. The

council therefore, by a ſecond diſpatch, advertiſed the lord lieutenant of thoſe preparations both againſt him and the confederates; and conceiving that without further authority from the king (now that condition of ſending over ten thouſand men failed to be performed) he could not proceed to a further ratification, and the publiſhing of the peace, and likewiſe finding themſelves obliged by the agreement with the nuncio to attend until the kalends of May, they deſired him to join with them in reſiſting the attempts of the king's avowed enemies, and in managing the war, to the end the ſervice might not ſuffer through want of due correſpondence for the little time, the entire ſettlement was ſuſpended, and the confederates having underſtood, that the want of monies to prepare for the field, and to ſend away ſome diſaffected officers, was the greateſt impediment that retarded thir conjunction they promiſed him three, and ſoon after paid him two thouſand pounds.

The council having after this manner endeavoured to prevent the enemy's attempts, and having given order to general Owen O'Neale to correſpond and hold good intelligence with the marquis of Ormond, removed their reſidence to Limerick, the garriſon of Bunratty being ſo inſolent after a defeat given to a party of the confederates, and driving ſome of the trained bands from their poſts at Six-mile-bridge, that they began to burn and prey the country: yet before we bring the reader to this ſiege, it is fit

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he know what at the ſame time was to be acted in other places, and what preparations were made for the ſervice.

THE nuncio continuing fixed in the reſolution he had taken concerning the iſſuing of the aids ſent to the confederates by the hands of his own miniſters, the council were content to put over to him the regulating of that matter; for although they well ſaw the affront done thereby to the government, as if the publick affairs were managed by men leſs ſincere, leſs prudent, and more improvident, than perſons unintereſted in the kingdom, yet the preſent neceſſity was the ſtronger argument. At length it was agreed, that the council finding ordnance and ammunition, the nuncio would maintain three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, to be drawn out of the army of Leinſter for three months, under the command of general Preſton, theſe forces to be employed in the province of Connaught, and the like number for the ſame time of the Ulſter army, for the ſervice of that province, under the command of general Owen O'Neale; and though this and no other was the power intruſted with the nuncio, yet the multitude eaſily fancied to themſelves, that he meant to raiſe an army of his own, and to carry on the war at the charge of his holineſs; and from this apprehenſion in them, ſprung up by degrees diſobedience to the council's commands, and contempt of that authority on whoſe conduct the nuncio had in their opinion laid a mark of diſtruſt.

THIS difference being thus atoned, the commiſſioners general of the province of Munſter were called upon to repreſent the condition of their army, which the council found to be no other than a liſt of officers names, moſt of them unprovided of winter quarters, and grown as great ſtrangers to their ſoldiers, who, like duſt in the air, were ſcattered over all parts of the province, as if they had never commanded them; for by reaſon of the contumacy of the cities, and their conſtant averſion to garriſons, and to the lodging of ſoldiers within their walls, which after proved fatal to themſelves, moſt of the ſoldiers compounding with the inhabitants of the places where they were billetted, retired to live with their friends, and thoſe who remained in their quarters, fed indeed plentifully, but neither were exerciſed nor engaged in any duty, nor retained any other mark of martial diſcipline, or the profeſſion of a ſoldier, ſave their arms, and thoſe for the moſt part unfixed and unſerviceable.

THE council deſpairing to regulate and reinforce that army in any convenient time to proſecute their deſign of laying ſiege to Bunratty, immediately ſent for three thouſand auxiliary foot, and three hundred horſe, which the province of Leinſter, being itſelf free from any apprehenſion of danger by reaſon of the ceſſation with the marquis of Ormond, undertook to ſend to the aſſiſtance of Munſter, giving order that the horſe ſhould join with the volunteers, and ſome horſe of the province, to preſerve as much

much as in them lay the country from being destroyed by the enemy's army, then drawn out of Cork, under the command of the lord of Broghill, and appointing the foot to march into the county of Clare, where they were to incorporate with such as could be gathered of the forces of Munster, under the command of major general Stephenson, there to encamp until fit preparation could be made for the siege of Bunratty.

THIS was an enterprize forced upon them, and they must have undertaken it without regard to all their necessities, and the strength and situation of the place, commodious for receiving all succour by sea, besides that it was almost within the heart of their quarters, made any delay fatal to them.

THEY saw they might have hands sufficient for the work, if they might maintain them; but it was evident that no such resistance might be given to the enemy as would hinder them from recovering that summer what the army under the command of the earl of Castlehaven, had taken the year before; and for the auxiliaries of Leinster, besides that the council was assured their number would fall short of what they expected, they much feared, that although the committee appointed for the affairs of that province, might for some short time keep their men, yet their other disbursements were so many, and the two thousand pounds sent to the marquis of Ormond (whereof we have spoken before) which they had lately borrowed of the

lord nuncio, and was part of the money designed by him for the expedition of Connaught, lay so heavy upon them, as they needs must fail of those constant weekly payments the province was engaged to give those men they were to send into Munster.

It was known likewise, that the gatherings of the Munster army which were drawn to the post at Quin, most of them wanting the cloaths promised them in their winter quarter, and all of them in arrear of their pay, since they came thither were highly discontented; that the officers, upon just grounds, were important suitors to the council for their means; that the country levies were exceeding slow, and no money in the hands of the receivers of the publick revenue.

The council being brought to such straits, began to consider, the only remedy to be applied to all those evils was the prudent choice of a person to command in chief, who should be active and popular, beloved of the soldiers, and powerful by his allies and friends in the province, that so the levies might be hastened, and the soldier pursuaded to be patient; wherefore they fixed unanimously upon the lord viscount Muskry, a nobleman so great a stranger to his private concernments, that when any thing related to the publick good of his country, he laid them aside: his greatest study was, during the whole course of the war, how to exclude himself from the places of chief command in the Munster army, which

which were ſought to be conferred upon him; and to make the affection generally borne him, and his power with the government and in the country uſeful to thoſe whom he conceived fitter for the employment, not only in the choice which was made of them, but likewiſe in affording them his beſt aſſiſtance in all the deſigns they undertook.

Upon the firſt notice given to the lord of Muſkry of this reſolution which was at their council board, he was exceedingly perplexed, and flatly refuſed to undergo that charge, alledging, that although he had ſerved the publick ſince the beginning with that zeal and faithfulneſs which became the duty he owed to his country, and that he was ready to ſacrifice his life and the ſmall remains of his fortune in the defence of the cauſe, yet he had never accepted of any employment of that kind, knowing his own diſability to manage it; beſides, he ſaid, that he expected not from thoſe he eſteemed his friends, to be put in the head of an army, where the officers were diſcontented, and the ſoldiers ready to diſband, without poſſibility to ſatisfy their juſt demands, or apparent likelihood, although they ſhould lay thoſe aſide, to maintain them for the future; and concluded, that he was ſure they would have more regard of his honour than thus expoſe it.

The council acknowledged the army was not in that poſture they could wiſh it, and plainly confeſſed what they could not conceal from him

who

who was of their number, that they had fearful apprehensions of the necessities they should be driven to in seeking to maintain it; but their last refuge was the use they meant to make of the general affection borne his person, and therefore would engage his honour, that the people might contribute chearfully to rescue it, and so assist them to carry on the work; neither ought he to take it ill at the hands of his friends, if all considerations gave place to the safety of the country, and the good of the cause. This notwithstanding, he persisted in the opposition he made for some time, until the assembly of the province, then sitting in Limerick, having understood that the lord of Muskry, whom they likewise in their wishes had designed for the charge of the army, would not condescend to accept of it, by reason of the very visible necessities upon it, and the apprehension of greater that in all probability would follow, sent a message to the council by four of their members, representing to them, that having considered the state of the province, they found no other more speedy and effectual way to redress the disorders in it, and to advance the service, than that the lord of Muskry should be commanded to accept the charge of the army, with this assurance from them, that they would with all chearfulness and care labour to maintain it for that campaign, and to provide all necessaries for the siege of Bunratty.

AFTER

After this offer, so advantageous for the publick, there was no room left for contending; yet he objected that the earl of Glamorgan, who then was absent, might perhaps be interested in that charge; and therefore protested he would not meddle with an employment, the acceptance whereof might distaste a nobleman so well meriting of the kingdom, and his own professed friend and kinsman. But to this the council answered, that when the earl of Thomond had first entered into treaty with the parliament, for admitting their garrison into the castle of Bunratty, they did require all officers, military and civil, of the province of Munster, to be aiding and assisting to the earl of Glamorgan, and to obey him in all things which might tend to the settlement of that province, and the expulsion of the parliamentaries. His lordship being then in hopes, that he might have prevailed with the earl of Thomond, by reason of the ample power his majesty had intrusted with him, and the meer alliance he had contracted with his family, to give ear to more wholsome councils, and to take a more noble resolution; upon which occasion it was believed, that authority might be a countenance to him: but now that the earl of Thomond was gone into England, and no hopes left to reduce the castle of Bunratty, but by a siege; and that they were forced to form upon the matter a new army, to consist of men, as yet in raising, and of the auxiliary forces of another province, they must be allowed to do what

what to them ſeemed moſt expedient for the good of the ſervice; and therefore, deſiring the lord of Muſkry, no longer to oppoſe their expreſs pleaſure therein, they ſigned a warrant for drawing up his commiſſion.

BUNRATTY is a noble antient ſtructure, reputed ſtrong when engines of battery were not ſo frequent, and before time and experience had rendered the taking in of places of ſtrength leſs difficult. On the ſouth of it hath the river of the Shannon, diſtant from it about a mile, of marſh and meadow ground. On the eaſt, it is waſhed with the river which falling to the Shannon, at the end of a goodly plain, ebbs and flows with it. To the north, at ſome diſtance from the caſtle, it is environed with an eminent ridge of earth, which bounds a goodly park; ſave that it wanted the ornament of timber-trees, it was then ſtored with the largeſt deer in the kingdom. And to the weſt, the ſpacious plain of which we have formerly ſpoken, was bounded with a broad deep trench, which nature had made to be the receptacle of the waters which iſſued from the ſprings in the neighbouring banks, and the wateriſh grounds that ſurround it. The ſpace between the caſtle and the brow of the bank, which the garden took up, as being the moſt approachable, was well fortified with earth-works, and a mount raiſed, wherein they planted four pieces of cannon. At ſome diſtance from this platform, ſtood a little caſtle, and behind that the church,

on

on a rising ground, all within a deep trench, well flanked, into which they intended to have drawn water from the river, which we have said, ran to the east of the castle; but that being a difficult work, was not yet brought to perfection.

The lord of Muskry having by his presence appeased the many discontents of the soldiers and officers of the Munster list, and composed them to a body, being now furnished with some money, and his strength increased by the access of the auxiliaries of Leinster, advanced, to encamp in the parish of Bunratty, having taken a castle upon quarter, which stood at the entrance into the park, wherein the enemy had left some musqueteers. Here the soldiers, for some days, were refreshed with plenty of venison, and the wood was preserved from destruction, because the dry pale made the better fire, and was gathered with the more ease. Lieutenant-general Purcell, major-general Stephenson, and colonel Purcell, who commanded the horse, all of them bred in the wars of Germany, were intrusted principally with the conduct of the action. And the army was now drawn towards the brow of the bank, where the enemy, from behind the quickset hedges, made some resistance, but being forced back to their works, the Irish became masters of all the ground without that broad deep trench, which we have described to have been on the west-side of the castle; and sat down at such a distance, as the brow of the bank sheltered the camp from being annoyed out

out of the castle, or from the mount; the abundance of underwood which was in the park, furnished them with faggots and baskets for their approaches, the descent of the hill being in all parts of it so stony, as they could not cast up the earth to run a trench, until they were got to the ground which lay even with the garden. The besieged, who were often supplied with men taken out of the ships, sallied often, but by reason of the nearness of the hill, and that the approaches which the enemy had made with their faggots and baskets, lay by ascents one behind another, and took up most of the front of the rising ground; their sallies did no great harm to the besiegers, who, from the constant fire they gave from the degrees of their works, still repulsed them with some loss, not without leaving marks of their courage, and the desperate attempts they made, by coming up sometimes to the lower baskets, and pulling up whole ranks of them. Some weeks were spent before the trenches could be carried to the level ground, where their sallies were more smart, by reason the horse had in that place more room to second their foot; but the besieged having suffered loss by a piece of ordnance drawn into the lower degree of those works the enemy raised of faggots and baskets filled with earth, they made not thence after so frequent sallies, and applied themselves wholly to fortify the place with new works.

Now

Now although much time was ſpent, yet the beſiegers found they had done little more towards the carrying of the caſtle, and the maſtering of the enemies works, than to have lodged themſelves in their neighbourhood, for they not only had the ſea open to them, but they were ſupplied with freſh meat, and forage for their horſes, from that large piece of paſture ground which lay between the caſtle and the river of the Shannon; and ſave ſome out-guards they kept at a dam, which was made upon the pool on the weſt-ſide, to keep up the waters at an ebb, they were engaged on no other duty, but the defence of that quarter; ſo as there was much time ſpent, and the progreſs was but ſlow againſt a ſtrong garriſon, relieved by ſea, and no way in danger to be wearied with watching or labour, while they had ſo much ground free, and their duty was no greater. The lord of Muſkry ſeeing the party with him ready to fall into great diſtreſs, called on the officers, and let them know, that unleſs ſome attempt were made to diſtract the beſieged from being wholly intent upon that quarter, where they made their approaches, neceſſity would force them to riſe with diſhonour, the clamours of the ſoldiers being already very great, and the end they aimed at, being in all appearance ſo far remote; wherefore, he gave order for an attempt to be made that night upon thoſe guards the enemy kept at the dam. The place, if gained, would have eaſily been fortified, and a paſſage made there, by

by which a part of the army might be transmitted to invest the castle, on that side which stood free, and whence they received constant relief from the parliament ships riding in the river of the Shannon. The design was prosperously executed, and the guards making no resistance, were driven away on the sudden, with the noise of so unexpected an attempt; and the place possessed by the Irish, which they held not four hours, when those left to maintain it seeing some lighted matches move, as they thought from the castle, which stood half an English mile off towards them, and imagining that they heard the noise of horses, deserted the place, carrying with them over the dam, which afforded passage but for one man abreast, some booty the English had left behind them; and the serjeant appointed to command the party, was among the first that fled, encouraged, it seems, by the too great indulgence in such cases, and the faint execution of martial discipline at all times used in the armies of the confederates. But the lord of Muskry caused ten of the soldiers, with the serjeant, to be the next day put into the hands of the provost-marshal, and to be executed; which act of justice, although out of the customary remissness observed in matters of that kind, it was repined at, even by some of the officers: yet it was easily discovered in other attempts, how much good example in the consequence of it did to the whole army.

In the mean time, the wants of the army grew to be very great, notwithſtanding the unuſual ways which the council was forced to take to furniſh the ſoldier with ſome money; and notwithſtanding that the nuncio had brought with him not long before ſix hundred pounds to the camp, ſo it was neceſſary for the beſiegers to undertake ſomewhat that probably might put a ſpeedy end to the work, before their neceſſities compelled the men to diſperſe, for now it was too late to think of ſurrounding the caſtle, or of diſtreſſing them for want of relief from ſea, who were abundantly provided of all things already; wherefore it was reſolved, that the two pieces of cannon newly ſent them from Limerick, ſhould be planted, to batter the little caſtle, which we have deſcribed to have ſtood near upon the edge of the out-works, which the beſieged had raiſed for defence of the place; the Iriſh being from thence much annoyed in their trenches, and their approaches retarded thereby. The battery was for two days continued againſt the ſide of the caſtle, which being thin, the bullets only pierced it, without ſhaking the fabrick; and ſo undauntedly did thoſe intruſted with the guard of it, maintain it, that ſtill as the cannon enlarged the breach, they at every ſhot poured forth a volley by the hole the bullets had made, until towards the evening of the ſecond day captain Mc Adam, who commanded in Bunratty, coming to view the place, and to give order for drawing off his men, in caſe he found it not

tenable, received a ſhot in his knee, from a field-piece, that was planted among the gabions, in ſome of the higher ſtages of the fences made upon the ſide of the hill, to incommodate the enemy on his ſally, not with any deſign to play upon the caſtle, where it could be of little uſe, but the cannoneer taking the upper window of the caſtle for a mark to try his ſkill, made that ſhot, which by accident was fatal to Mc Adam, who then was in the room, to which that window gave light; and being carried thence, died that night: whereof the lord of Muſkry, being advertiſed by one that came off from the beſieged, and knowing how much they were diſcouraged at the loſs of ſo valiant a perſon, and how little unanimous they were in the choice of one to ſucceed him, he cauſed proviſion of faggots to be made, and reſolved to take advantage of this their conſternation and difference, and to aſſault them in their works; but firſt he cauſed two ſmall pieces to be drawn to the ſea-ſhore, near the dam, to beat off a ſhip that rid at anchor there, with intent to play on the back of thoſe which again ſhould attempt to recover that poſt; but the guns being planted by the break of day, and ſhot off as ſoon as aim could be taken, ſhe ſlipt her cable and put to ſea: and now all this being prepared for the aſſault, the Iriſh fell on at the ſame time upon all their works that faced upon the hill, and entering by the breaches made in the caſtle, and by the dry ditch adjoining to it, which they filled with faggots,

gots, they poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome of their inner works, ſo ſunk in the earth, as the beſieged could not come to charge them with their horſe, but thoſe that attempted to take in a half moon that lay on the eaſt point of the garden, were repulſed with loſs; yet the beſieged ſeeing freſh men drawn up, to renew the aſſault there, and the number of thoſe increaſing who had taken that poſt, when the horſe could not annoy them, and that others had poſſeſſed themſelves of the dam, and were paſſing the water, they were content to capitulate for their lives only, and the officers their ſwords, leaving the place, cannon, horſes, arms, ammunition, and proviſions, to the confederates, and embarking their ſick and wounded men, returned by ſea to Cork.

The forces which took in Bunratty, being quartered in the county of Clare, not ſo much to refreſh them, as becauſe there was no poſſibility of finding means to march them from thence, and to oppoſe them to the lord of Inchiquin, and the army drawn out of Cork. The lord of Muſkry returned to Limerick, where the council, in purſuance of the ſtrict commands they had received from the aſſembly, were endeavouring to remove all obſtacles which might hinder the publiſhing of the peace, the time being now paſſed, during which, in obſervance of the promiſe made to the nuncio, they had ſuſpended the concluſion of that affair.

But becauſe I conceive it will be more acceptable to the reader to find the civil and mar-

tial actions of this ſummer, made up into diſtinct pieces, than interwoven, I ſhall, before I enter upon thoſe conteſts between the council and nuncio, relate the ſucceſs of the two expeditions into Connaught and Ulſter, wherein the ſupplies ſent from Rome were to be employed for the lord of Inchiquin, and thoſe adhering to the parliament in Munſter; beſides, that they had recovered all thoſe places, which the earl of Caſtlehaven took the ſummer before, were likewiſe maſters of Blarney, the lord of Muſkry's chief houſe, a goodly caſtle, and of ſo ſtupendous a thickneſs in the two lower ſtories, as it was to that height, proof againſt battery, while the nobleman neglecting his private concernments, was intent upon the publick ſervice wherein he was engaged.

Monroe, who commanded in chief for the parliament in Ulſter, had, with the approbation of the lords of the Ardes, the lord Blany, and other the principal officers of the northern army, had taken a reſolution to march to Kilkenny, encouraged thereunto, by reaſon the forces of the province of Leinſter, were, as we have formerly related, ſent ſome of them as auxiliaries into Munſter; and the reſt, under the command of general Preſton, into Connaught: and ſo little doubt they had to remove ſuddenly, the ſole impediment which lay in the way, by the defeat of Owen O'Neal's army, as they marched fifteen miles the day of the battle of Binborb, leſt the Iriſh, who then were come into the champaign country,

ſhould

ſhould by night retreat to Cſhawbeagh, and endeavour, by making uſe of that faſtneſs, and the incommodiouſneſs of the paſſage, to retard their advance. But as too great confidence is frequently attended by an unexpected event, ſo human foreſight often errs in the knowledge of that which is to ſucceed; and this was verified by what happened at that encounter between the Scotch and Iriſh forces in Ulſter.

General Owen O'Neale, by cauſing ſome mutinous ſoldiers to be executed, and by terror of that wholſome ſeverity, having begot in the army a ſubmiſſive obedience to his commands, moved by eaſy marches from Cavan, to a place in the county of Tyrone, called Binborke, where news was brought him by his ſcouts, that the enemies horſe appeared, ſome of them at Duncannon, the reſt of them at Armagh, both places diſtant but five miles from the Iriſh camp; and that the great ſmoak and fires they had ſeen towards Slewgallen, upon the frontiers of the county of Down, were undoubted marks of the armies approach. The general having upon theſe advertiſements ſent parties abroad, for further diſcovery of the enemies motion, called a council of war, wherein it was debated, whether they were to fight the enemy, or to ſuffer him to paſs on by the upper parts of Ulſter into Leinſter, which (as they underſtood from a ſpy they had taken) was his deſign, and by marching ſuddenly into Leinſter, to inrich themſelves with the ſpoil of thoſe well-inhabited countries, leaſt

without defence. Thoſe who ſtood for this laſt opinion, alledged, that in following that courſe, they might, without any hazard, deſtroy thoſe parts, which for ſo many years had fed them, and maintained the war in the province of Ulſter; and that it ought to be their principal care to extinguiſh that fire which was kindled within their own houſes; beſides, it was not to be doubted, that how far ſoever the Scottiſh army ſhould be advanced, they would, upon notice of the deſtruction and deſolation under which their own eſtates, and the fortunes of their kindred and tenants ſuffered, draw back to relieve them; and that then they might fight them at more advantage, when they ſhould return wearied with ſo long and incommodious a march, all of it in the enemies country; but the opinion of the general, and of thoſe who inclined to have the matters put to the trial of a day, prevailed for thoſe reaſons: firſt, he ſaid, that it was not to be preſumed that the Scotch meant to ſacrifice all thoſe their dear intereſts to an enemy, who lay ſo near their frontiers, in a body ſo conſiderable as he had; and therefore, it was to be believed, that they had either ſecured what they left behind them in their garriſons, and in ſuch faſtneſs, as hardly were acceſſable; or that they would make it their deſign to beat his men, before themſelves advanced farther; that it would be no ſmall diſcouragement to the army, to be put upon any project, almoſt in the face of the enemy, which would look like the ſhunning of him;

him; and that if all ſhould ſucceed to their wiſh, even thoſe booties they gathered, would be the ruin of the army, when the Scotch coming back, incenſed at the deſolation of their quarters, and the calamity of their friends ſhould find it much weakened by the want of thoſe, who would deſert their colours to ſave their booty, and the reſt incumbered with the pillage they had gotten.

The reſolution therefore being taken to fight the enemy, and the general being advertiſed by the ſcouts that the Scottiſh foot lay eaſtward of Armagh, and their horſe diſperſed, ſome a mile from the town, others in it, he ſent out all his horſe with two hundred muketeers to beat the enemy from that poſt, or to engage them, but they withdrew upon approach of the Iriſh, and their foot would not appear, the Tyrconnel forces being not as yet come up to them, and ſoon after marched towards Glaſlogh, a place commodious for their joining. At two of the clock in the afternoon the Scotch paſſed the great river at Kinnard, and while their ſcouts croſs the fields at Knockacligh, a place diſtant not much more than a mile from the Iriſh camp, the body of their horſe drew towards Ballaghkilgavil; whereupon a party of the Iriſh horſe being commanded to advance, and the general with the whole cavalry and ſome companies of foot following after, the Scotch horſe had orders to retire a little, two thouſand five hundred foot and the Tyrconnel horſe that already paſt

the river Dearg, marching apace to incorporate with them, and the Irish party sat down at Knockacligh, where they rested but a very short time, when Monroe, with two regiments of foot and fifteen troops of horse marched up the hill which hangs over Ballaghkilgavin, and thereupon the foot which the Irish had placed in ambush there against the horse, not expecting the advance of the whole army that way, being drawn off undiscovered, general Owen O'Neale made choice of a place to fight in. about an English mile from his camp, to the south it was defended by the great river, and from the banks of that river to the west there opened a spacious campagnia, and from thence the Scottish army drew up to the edge of those plains, on the north stood a little hill of some bigness, and on the east, and generally in all parts of the grounds short of that plain where the Irish army was dispersed there were shrubs, steep hillocks with a mixture of even vallies. The Scotch had no sooner recovered those eminences to which they marched, but they made some shot out of their field-pieces on the Irish party, now retiring from Knockacligh, to the place the general had appointed for the battle, rather to amuse them than that they hoped to do them any harm at so great distance, or from that height. It was four of the clock when both armies being drawn up in that order, the commanders meant they should fight, the battle began. The Scotch foot was cast into nine divisions, five made up

the

the front, and the four which were to ſecond ſtood at ſome diſtance behind them, but ſo little ſpace had been left to receive them in caſe there ſhould be uſe of their aſſiſtance in the front, and likewiſe themſelves were joined ſo cloſe, that the rear muſt have compaſſed all the front before they could be drawn up to fight, and the front upon any accident which might befall them, being compelled to retreat, muſt have diſordered the rear; and this was believed to have contributed very much to the loſs of that battle. The Iriſh foot were likewiſe diſpoſed into ſeven diviſions, whereof four made up the front, and three the rear; and ſo much ſpace was left between each diviſion in the front, as might conveniently receive the bodies placed behind, which ſtanding at ſome diſtance right againſt the empty ſpaces, might by marching directly forward, fill up the empty room, and come to fight without enlarging the front; the horſe on both ſides winged the armies, and the Scotch cannon played from their front, which ſtood upon the declining of an eaſy hill between both armies: the fields were in moſt parts level, and to the left wing of the Iriſh army there ran a little brook, which cloſe by it fell into the river; the Scotch muſqueteers from thence began to fight, which being continued for ſome time eagerly, at length the Iriſh horſe from the left wing charging them home, drove them with loſs, and purſued them beyond the brook, which when they had done, they retired

tired to their former poſt; and now both armies were in motion to join in battle; the ſun and wind favouring the Scots, which was an advantage the Iriſh could not contend for without leaving the defence of their camp, and expoſing the baggage for a prey to the enemy. For two hours the fight continued with equal order and earneſtneſs, and then all hands were drawn to be engaged, the diviſions in the rear of the Iriſh army filled up with eaſe the void ſpaces allotted them to fight in, and thoſe placed behind in the Scotch army ſtruggling for room among their fellows in the front, who were already too thick ſet, which when general O'Neale obſerved, he gave order, his men ſtill keeping their order, ſhould come up to them, and try the matter with ſword and pike; againſt which impreſſion and the confuſion which ſtill grew greater between their own party, by reaſon of the throng, the Scots made no long reſiſtance, but being broken and routed, they ſought ſafety by flight. The wings where the horſe fought with various fortune, ſeeing the groſs of their men defeated, fled likewiſe, and many of them found benefit by the approach of night and the ſwiftneſs of their horſes; though the Iriſh general, as ſoon as he ſaw them broken, called aloud to his horſe to purſue them, and leave the foot to follow the execution of the infantry, which held on until ten of the clock with great ſlaughter: and this was the ſucceſs of the battle of Binborb, fought the fifth of June, in the year

year 1646, wherein the Scotch loſt their artillery, their colours, and baggage. The lord Blaney was killed, and the lord Montgomery, who commanded the horſe, with ſundry other officers, was made priſoner; among whoſe papers a note was found of the liſts of the army in their way to Kilkenny, where they meant to be in twelve days march. Beſides the general joy which this ſo ſignal a victory was to all the confederates, and the ſolemn thanks which was rendered for it to God by the council and nuncio at Limerick, the pope, as ſoon as he heard of it, went in perſon to Sancta Maria Major, at Rome, to be preſent at the Te Deum he cauſed to be ſung for ſuch the good ſucceſs of the catholicks in Ireland.

But as the events of things are beyond the reach of our knowledge, ſo the conſequences that attend upon what hath happened, are often far different from the paſſion of comfort or ſorrow which the accident imprints in us, and God is often pleaſed to let men ſee how vain the inferences are which men upon the moſt ſolid human principles that they may the more revere the power of his will, and adore the ways of his inſcrutable judgments; for who could have imagined that this ſo entire and ſo celebrated a victory would not have conduced very much to the aſſerting of thoſe intereſts for which that nation fought? But it fell out by a ſtrange change in the courſe of things, that the deſign and affection of a few made it the foundation of ſup-

preſſing

preſſing catholick religion in that kingdom, of rendering the Iriſh unable to aſſiſt it in maintaining the king's rights and prerogatives, and of bringing that ſervitude upon that nation under which they ſuffer at preſent, for it was certainly believed that the nuncio and his adherents who had an eſpecial influence upon the northern army, were encouraged thereby to purſue more vigorouſly the inclinations they had of breaking the peace ſo long agitated with the marquis of Ormond, and ſo ſolemnly approved by the nation in their late aſſembly at Kilkenny, which was the root of all the miſeries that afterwards befell them.

The army likewiſe of the confederates under the command of general Preſton, to which part of the ſupplies brought from Rome were diſtributed, had been alſo ſucceſsful in gaining ſome garriſons from the parliament party in Connaught, and now the army being put into a fit poſture to advance, it was reſolved that Roſcommon, the ſtrongeſt inland garriſon whereof the enemy was poſſeſſed in Connaught, ſhould be the firſt attempted, while the men were freſh and vigorous, there being little doubt that the ſole fame of good ſucceſs in that enterprize would make the reduction of their leſs conſiderable garriſons, an eaſy work; wherefore the general directing five hundred foot to be drawn out of Sir James Dillon's regiment, and two hundred horſe to be joined to them, appointing his nephew, colonel Oliver, now lord Fitz-William,

William, then newly returned out of France, to command that party, with orders to ſeize on all the prey of Roſcommon, before his intention to beſiege it was diſcovered by the motion of the army; but notice being brought to major Coote, governor of Roſcommon, and the two brothers, the Ormſby's, of this deſign, they increaſed their ſtrength by drawing men from the neighbour garriſons, and finding a fit opportunity to charge thoſe led by colonel Fitz-Williams, while they were buſy in gathering and driving away the cattle, they not only reſcued the prey, but defeated the party, having killed forty or fifty of them, and made ſome of the officers priſoners. In the mean time the army advanced, and in a few days march appeared before the caſtle of Roſcommon, ſeated upon the edge of a goodly downes extending northward from it many miles; a large lake compaſſed it on the weſt, and beſides the earth works with which it was fortified, the towers and what remained of the old work that had not been pulled down to build up the houſe, were very thick and ſtrong; and the garriſon conſiſted of tried and reſolute men.

The place being ſummoned and refuſing to yield, the army ſat down before it, and though frequently interrupted with ſmart ſallies, opened their trenches, and made their approaches. While they are thus on both ſides intent upon the work with various ſucceſs, the Engliſh had prepared a ſtrong body of horſe with which they hoped to be able to ſend in relief to the beſieged, the

the party was conducted by the Ormſby's, men who had acquired the reputation of active and valiant officers, againſt whom, upon notice brought to the general of their march, he ſent out colonel Fitz-Williams, Sir Walter Dungan, major Finglaſs, captain Edmond Bourke of Kilcornan, and ſeveral others, with the greateſt part of the horſe, who coming to engage with the enemy, the reſt of the horſe were commanded to ſtrengthen them: they fought for ſome time with equal courage and ſucceſs, but freſh ſupplies coming ſtill from the camp, which was not two miles diſtant from where they fought, thoſe led by the Ormſby's were broken upon, and the Iriſh purſued them four miles with great ſlaughter; the beaten party likewiſe left monuments of the reſiſtance they made, not only in the fall of ordinary men, but in the death of captain Edmond Bourke of Kilcornan, a noble minded and valiant man, and of captain Finglaſs, a young gentleman of a daring, undaunted ſpirit, and of good conduct in the war, who being run through the body that day, died ſoon after.

This notwithſtanding, the caſtle held out, until the cannon had made a breach; then deſpairing of relief from abroad, loth to incenſe a prevailing enemy with attending the laſt extremity, they beat a parley, and Sir James Dillon, who was then in the trenches, led the governor, who came himſelf to capitulate, to the general's tent, where articles being drawn and ſigned,

ſigned, the garriſon marched out with bag and baggage to and the lord of Ranelagh's goods which lay in that caſtle were, according to agreement, ſafely conveyed to the caſtle of Athlone.

From thence having appointed Rd. Bourke, now earl of Clanrickard, governor of Roſcommon, until the council's pleaſure were known therein, they marched to Drumruſke, thence to Jameſtown, whereof Sir James Dillon was made governor; thence to Boyle, ſending out parties to ſeveral little holts and caſtles, all which were ſurrendered, and ſo that province (Sligo only excepted) was freed from the garriſons that diſturbed it. But beſides that thoſe proſperous ſucceſſes were attended with the ſtill growing wants of that army, for now they had ſpent the nuncio's ſupplies, and the monies advanced to ſet them forth; an accident happened, which miniſtered unto them occaſion of diſcontent and diſquiet: general Owen O'Neale after the battle of Binborb, by which he opened himſelf a way into the rich and well inhabited parts of Ulſter poſſeſſed by the Scots, changed of a ſudden the reſolution he had once entertained of purſuing his victory, and quartered part of his army as to refreſh them, in the counties of Weſtmeath and Longford, where the ſoldiers aſſuming an imperious liberty of inſulting over the inhabitants, and exacting what they pleaſed, gave occaſion to many heavy complaints againſt them, which being brought to the ears of the

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Leinſter forces in Connaught, their reſentment was ſo great of their kindred and friends ſufferings in thoſe countries, as they threatened to return to drive the northern men out of thoſe quarters, and only forbear to execute what they intended, until they had received the council's anſwer upon a petition preſented in their names, and ſubſigned by their officers for redreſs of this grievance. But means being found to appeaſe thoſe clamours, they continued in a body, until with many chearful and hearty expreſſions of joy, they in a few days after ſolemnly publiſhed their acceptance of the peace, which much about this time was proclaimed at Dublin, and at Kilkenny. Thus having related the moſt noted actions which at that time paſt in the field between thoſe adhering to the parliament of England and the confederates; I am to enter upon thoſe civil diſſentions between the ſupream council and the nuncio, that laid the foundation of ſuch perpetual animoſities in the nation, as involved them all in one common calamity, and are ſcarce yet, after a general deſolation at home, and ſome years of ſad exile abroad, extinguiſhed.

The time aſſigned for producing thoſe articles of peace treated at Rome between the pope and the queen of England being now expired, the council, in purſuance of the commands given them by the laſt general aſſembly, to be diligent in removing all obſtacles, which might obſtruct a final concluſion with the marquis of Ormond,

Ormond, finding that nothing gave a ſtop to it, but the ſending over of the ten thouſand men into England, which could not then be done, employed a gentleman to Dublin, to inform him of the great deſire the confederates had to ſee that perfect ſettlement which had been ſo long treated, at length introduced, to the end all parties, without diſtinction, might join their endeavours to aſſiſt the king; and in regard it was evident, the forces deſigned for England, notwithſtanding all the induſtry uſed by them, could not be in a readineſs that ſummer, they humbly deſired his lordſhip to find ſome means by ſuſpending the condition, to remove that impediment; advertiſing him moreover, that whenſoever his lordſhip ſhould think fit to perfect and proclaim the peace, they intended at the ſame time to publiſh the agreement made with the earl of Glamorgan, thoſe being the conceſſions on which they relied in matters of religion.

The marquis, now duke of Ormond, conſidering that now the ſeaſon of the year made the tranſportation of men, although they had been at the water-ſide ready for a voyage, to be an undertaking ſo deſperate, the parliament-ſhipping being abſolute maſters of the ſea, as it was not to be inſiſted upon, and obſerving how the king would infallibly be compelled to place all his hope of ſafety in the force of arms, nothing that could be offered by him for quieting the troubles of England, proving acceptable to

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those that had the greatest stroke in the management of affairs, was content to wave that engagement of sending over the men, hoping by settling the kingdom in peace, to be able with less danger, while the time of the year favoured their embarking, to furnish him from thence with a more considerable number; but he let them know withal, that if they persisted in the resolution they seemed to have taken, to publish those which they called the earl of Glamorgan's concessions, he must of necessity declare against them, the king having done so in England, and he being in all reason obliged to follow the precedent his master had given him, upon return of the answer, it was resolved in council, the whole committee and those of the former council joined with them by order of the assembly, should be convened, and in obedience to the summons sent, they should meet soon after at Limerick, where the council and the nuncio then resided.

Here the council informed the committee of all that had passed between the lord lieutenant and them concerning the peace, since the [illegible] of the assembly; and having proposed the difficulty which arose upon the intimation given his lordship of their resolution to publish the earl of Glamorgan's private agreement with the confederates, they desired them who had in that matter an equal interest of power and trust, to deliver their sense thereupon. There was no great contrariety of opinions in the debate among them who had their eyes fixt upon the necessities of the kingdom, and their thoughts full of the inclinations

inclinations they obſerved in the aſſembly, to have that peace concluded. Wherefore the reſult, as to the agreement made with the earl of Glamorgan, was, that formalities and ceremonies, which in other tranſactions may be thought neceſſary, were not only ſuperfluous, but alſo inconvenient in their caſe, and therefore they ſhould forbear publiſhing of them; for it was certain, that if thoſe conceſſions had continued under the ſame ſecrecy, with which they were concluded, and had not come to light by ſo unfortunate an accident, as was the encounter at Sligo; no man would believe them the more invalid, or the leſs binding that they were concealed; that it would be a very vain thing to exact conditions at the hands of a perſon whom they themſelves ſhould contribute to put in a ſtate not to perform them; that none was ignorant what uſe the king's enemies made of that popular argument of his majeſty's inclinations to pleaſe the church of Rome, and his favouring papiſts, and that by appearing over curious in circumſtances no way eſſential, beſides adding freſh fuel to that obloquy, and conſequently rendering the king leſs able to diſcharge that engagement, they would ſubmit it to all the conteſts and cavils which probably would be made by thoſe that ſought to break the peace upon ſight of the lord lieutenant's declaration againſt thoſe conceſſions, and as to the diſhonour ſome ſaid, the proclaiming of articles of peace, that expreſſed ſo little, in order to the ſplendor of

the catholick religion, would be to the confederates who made that the principal grounds of their taking arms, as well in the opinion of the pope and those princes that assisted them: it was answered, that as by their letters and agents they might inform them of those concessions of the earl of Glamorgan, on which they relied, so they doubted not that the pope and all others, who out of their experience in great affairs, knew how much a real good, and the means to attain it, were to be preferred before ceremony and solemn ostentation, would applaud their prudence and the way which they had taken.

The nuncio, though the calends of May were now passed, and that he was frustrated of the hopes he had to receive those articles expected from Rome, yet he forbore not to be earnest with the council to suspend the conclusion of the peace, until his holiness's sense should be known thereupon, and their necessities represented unto him; adding, that he was confident the pope would be so just, as either to supply their wants, or to give them way to conclude upon such conditions as were already granted. But the council and committee reflecting how little satisfied the assembly was, even with the late delay until May, and how pressing their commands were to them to remove all obstacles which might foreclose the publication of it, went on their own way; and now their consultations growing to a conclusion, the nuncio sent them a protestation, signed by himself and many prelates, together with

with others of the clergy, and the regulars. Upon the receipt of this instrument, all of them were astonished at the number of hands to it, there being then in the city only four prelates; but looking upon the date, they found it was written the last of February, 1645, *stylo veteri*, at that time when the nuncio was advertised of a peace then in treaty at Rome. He therefore fearing that this which was agitated between the marquis of Ormond and the confederates should be concluded without regard to it, bethought him of this stop to be put in their proceedings; but having, as we have formerly declared, obtained of the assembly, that the matter should be deferred until the first of May, this protestation was suppressed, and so much care taken that it should not be divulged, as none of the council or the committee, but those of the prelates who had sub-signed it, did know any thing of it. Although the council and committee were much troubled to see so many grave and learned prelates, whereof some were of the council, others of the committee, sworn in each of those employments to give their faithful advice, to single themselves out of the body of the confederate catholicks, and to join in an act so odious in itself, so ill charactered, and so loudly cried against by the assembly, as was any protestation of that nature, yet it was a subject of greater astonishment to them, to see that the nuncio, for so long a time, and after such satisfaction given him, should still keep it by him as a claim

to forbid the bans, whenſoever the king ſhould be pleaſed to eſpouſe that his kingdom, or the confederates were diſpoſed to admit of a ſettlement. However, making no other judgment upon that inſtrument, than that it was unwarrantably contrived, and unreaſonably produced, they nevertheleſs endeavoured, both by letters and meſſages to mitigate the averſion which the nuncio had to their proceedings; while he, who had more leiſure, plied them inceſſantly with the ſame reaſons often repeated; to which the council and committee omitted to be punctual in their anſwers, becauſe they were wholly intent upon haſtening the concluſion of the peace, leſt their wants, which grew daily more and more upon them, might cauſe their armies to mutiny, or that ſome proſperous ſucceſs of the enemy ſhould blemiſh the honour the nation had acquired in that ſummer's ſervice. But whether the reſentment of the affront which the nuncio conceived was done him in neglecting to anſwer ſome of his letters, was the motive of his diſcontent, as the biſhop of Limerick and father Robert Nugent, provincial of the jeſuits, whom the council intruſted to find out what was the ground of the offence he had taken, informed them it was; or whether that having not as yet contrived the means how to diſturb the peace, he was incenſed at that which he thought he wanted power to prevent; it is certain, that when Sir Nicholas Plunket and Mr. Geoffry Brown, two of the council, being employed to Dublin to put the

the laſt hand to the work, came to take their leaves of him, and to crave his benediction, he fell into a violent paſſion, and told them, *nec benedico, nec benedicam vobis*; wherefore the council and committee, that with much care and induſtry endeavoured at all times to preſerve him in a good opinion of the government, made up thoſe anſwers he wanted, and ſent them by ſome of their number, who had in charge to aſſure the nuncio that they always had very real deſires to do himſelf in his perſon, and as he was the miniſter of ſo great a maſter, all honour, and that multiplicity of buſineſs, not any neglect, was the occaſion of their being ſo long deferred. Doubtleſs it may be imputed as a crime to men, in that authority, that they had made themſelves ſo cheap, as that a foreign miniſter ſhould after this manner reprove their no very great omiſſions; and it muſt be acknowledged, that the extraordinary ſubmiſs obſervances paid to the nuncio by all ſorts of perſons, were part of the ingredients, which went to compoſe that bitter cup prepared for the nation; for as the corrupt nature of men, which hath in it that never-dying ſeed of ſelf flattery, might have given him a more elevated ſenſe of his parts and abilities, ſo it is no wonder he ſhould be confident that a people who from the higheſt to the loweſt of them, revered him with unuſual reſpects, ſuch as he had not ſeen in other nations, would have depended entirely upon his direction, and this probably was an encouragement for him to venture

upon those high oppositions he gave the government.

Not many days after the nuncio demanded, and had audience at the council-board, where he renewed his request, that they would respect his holiness's approbation before they took a final resolution to conclude the peace. The council (for now the committee having performed what they were convened for were dismissed) not only repeated the contents of their letters, but hoping by their freedom and confidence, added to the strength of their reasons to prevail with him to sit down satisfied with the ways they had taken, laid before him all the motives they had to urge the conclusion of the peace.

First, they said, that they had considered the poverty of the kingdom, which being charged but with threescore and ten thousand pounds for maintenance of their armies, and several gales assigned for payment of that sum, yet the charge seemed so heavy to the confederates, that many deserted their dwellings to live in the quarters let forth for the king's protestant subjects, and whole baronies were depopulated, as the commissioners of the army for the province of Leinster had, by their letters informed them; and yet that tax did not amount to half the sum, which most of the prime officers in their armies, by an instrument attested under their hands, thought necessary for making a regular war in Ireland. Next to this they said, that however they sought to magnify the prosperity of their arms,

arms, yet weighing all things duly, they found in four years war, albeit the marquis of Ormond, by the reason of the cessation of acts of hostility between the confederates and him, did but look on, yet they had made no such real progress, as might encourage them to lay aside the thought of their wants, or to believe that the enemy was to be frightened, or easily driven out of those large territories and strong holds which they possessed in the kingdom, the rather that many of them were maritime cities, and places fortified upon the sea-coast, which lay open to be relieved by the parliament of England, commanding the king's ships, the best navy of Europe.

Besides, they had observed, that the enemy was so powerful in that province wherein they then were, as to have been able that summer both to regain what they had lost the year before, and to make such a diversion in Bunratty, as for four months found work for the army designed for the service of Munster; neither were they, as they said, so assured of the strength of those castles upon the river of the Shannon, or the affections of persons commanding some of them, who had not taken the oath of union, but they might justly apprehend that the enemy might at any time, when the confederates did advance to his head quarters in the county of Cork, force or find a place of descent for a party of theirs to fix in the opulent county of Clare, upon the banks of that river, which the parliament

parliament of England commanded by their ſhipping.

THAT the Scots of the Laggane, joined with the Engliſh garriſons in Connaught, had that ſummer marched from the one end of that province to the other, preying and burning the country; and although they had drawn back, when the forces of the province with the auxiliaries of Leinſter, were brought to a body, and that the caſtle of Roſcommon and the Boyle were taken from them, yet they were ſtill poſſeſſed of Sligo, a convenient ſea-port, recovered but the ſummer before from the confederates.

THEY ſaid, that God was pleaſed to give them a memorable victory in Ulſter, but that more than the honour of it, and the weakening of the enemy in his forces, no real advantage towards the ſupport of the war, accrued thereby to the confederates, as was evident by the neceſſity and want of means which general O'Neale alledged as a reaſon for diſperſing that victorious army in the beſt ſeaſon for ſervice, ſo as if they ſhould propoſe to themſelves, as the end of their work, the expelling all ſuch as oppoſed them, out of the kingdom, they had no great encouragement given them to imagine that deſign was eaſily to be compaſſed; neither had they as yet heard any ſolid reaſon, which ought to induce them to proſecute it. They acquainted him beſides, how much they apprehended, that the government would fall in contempt with the people by the pernicious example of diſobedi-

ence,

ence, which ſome towns and cities had ſhewed to the commands of the council; as in Galway, where notwithſtanding their earneſt and reiterated directions, the exciſe ſolemnly eſtabliſhed by decree of the aſſembly, was not received, and in Limerick, where by publick vote of the city aſſembly, it was cried down, the council being then in town, and the miniſters appointed for execution of that charge, affronted in their ſight; and they let him know that this precedent was ſoon after followed by thoſe who might as well pretend to the ſame immunities.

They put the nuncio in mind, how, beſides the ſix hundred pounds, which when Bunratty was beſieged, he himſelf was forced upon his own private credit to borrow for them, they were compelled to take very rigorous and unuſual courſes to procure ſupplies to be ſent thither; for being informed where ſix or ſeven hundred pounds of Mr. Mc Waller's money lay depoſited, they impriſoned the gentleman to whoſe truſt it was committed, until they compelled him upon ſecurity of re-payment, to deliver them the money. That Mr. Hurley, and other gentlemen in the county of Limerick, who were thought able to command money, were uſed after the ſame manner; and beſides the danger to which themſelves lay expoſed for ſuch inexcuſable crimes againſt the laws of the kingdom, and the liberty of the ſubject, it was obvious that there being no other mine, whence means might be drawn for maintenance of the war, but the

the affection of the people, ſuch exorbitant proceedings frequently uſed, might make them deſperate, and apt to liſten to any reſolution, how deſtructive ſoever, which the violence of their paſſion would ſuggeſt unto them. The king's condition, in the nature of a priſoner with the Scots, was likewiſe ſet forth to him, and how fatal it would be to Ireland, if that nation ſhould, by giving up his perſon to the parliament of England, cloſe again and unite both kingdoms, or if the king ſhould be won to grant them once whatever they would demand; for there was little doubt, that in both caſes Ireland was to be the reward of the accord, and the ſoldiers of fortune, both Engliſh and Scots, would be as forward to plant themſelves in this kingdom, as the two nations, upon the concluſion of a firm peace, would be deſirous to be freed from the Iriſh. And he was told further, that they ſaw not how they could comply with the oath they had taken to maintain the catholick religion, to preſerve the king's rights and prerogatives, and the liberties of their country, without endeavouring to prevent this miſchief; and that this was to be effected by no other means than by concluding that peace; for it was not to be preſumed that Scotland, which was of far leſs power than England, how prone ſoever that his native country might be of its own inclinations, and by the excitement of France to engage in the king's reſtitution to the crown of England, would without hopes of being rewarded, hazard itſelf

againſt

against such odds; and from whom should the Scottish nation with more justice expect assistance than from the Irish, who are their fellow-subjects, and sworn to uphold their quarrel, if they shall employ their arms to re-inthrone the king.

They desired him to consider with them, that it was folly in such as must rely upon the king's royal word for securing unto them those concessions he was pleased to grant, to be carried away with those specious circumstances that might weaken him in his party, or should be an impediment to him to acquire that authority and power which might set limits to the repinings of men against the favours he had extended to catholicks, and that therefore they had forborn to insist upon publishing the agreement made with the earl of Glamorgan, the committee and they having made this principle the result of their consultation, that nothing was to be done in that which might disadvantage or disoblige the king, they said that parts made between sovereign princes were of another nature, than such arguments as pass between kings and their subjects: sense of honour, powerful confederacies, and the justice of a war, might plead for the one, but they had then in their hands that which was only binding in their case, to wit, the means to oblige their king by a tie of gratitude; and if they did omit the occasion, or sought to make use of it to his prejudice, their posterity might perhaps suffer for their imprudence, by reason the

the memory of ſhrewd turns deſcends in the blood of princes, and they ſeldom forget to make uſe of their power when advantage is taken of their neceſſities.

They likewiſe diſcovered to him how monſieur de Molms, reſident for the French king, had in purſuance of credence given him, by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's letters of the twenty eighth of May laſt, dated at Compeigne, let them underſtand, not many days before, while they were yet at the ſiege of Bunratty; that his maſter having by his miniſters taken notice of the articles of that peace, which had been long agitated between them and the marquis of Ormond, whereof the lord Digby, his majeſty's principal ſecretary, had ſhewn him a copy, did by the advice of the queen regent his mother, approve of them, and that he was by ſpecial inſtruction commanded to let them know, that his maſter would have the ſame ſenſe of any aſſiſtance afforded their own king, as if they had given it to the crown of France; and that his ambaſſadors in Scotland were poſitively directed not to give way to any peace the Scottiſh nation ſhould treat with the parliament, wherein the peace of Ireland was not included. Moreover, he aſſured them, that his maſter, who had no other motive to favour their cauſe, and appear in their aſſiſtance, than his zeal for the advancement of catholick religion, would interpoſe in having that made ſure to them, which he might do with the more confidence; that he had good

pledges

pledges in France, to redeem his honour engaged in this promise. They desired him further to observe, that the expence of the war considered, all the foreign aids which they had received, were matters rather to amuse the people, and to excite them to greater contributions at home, than any real ease of the burthen they groaned under; nor indeed could the confederates, who were able to contribute so little to the interests of others, with any reason expect, according to the maxims of the times, any considerable succours by the sole title of a war for religion; and it was evident, that they being in condition to make no other application, than upon the score of the merit of their cause, they had hitherto received that proportion of friendship and favour from catholick princes, which commonly is conferred on those, who court all men indifferently. The pope indeed, who was interested in the good success of their attempts, had done more than all the rest; but his lordship knew, that by reason his exchequer was exhausted in the late war of Italy, he was not able to do what he was willing, and that there needed no greater proof of their wants, than that the forces which they had drawn to a body, but three months before, in each of the three provinces, were all of them now dispersed, or at a stand for want of maintenance. They likewise informed the nuncio of the fearful apprehensions they had of some violent animosities, then ready to break out between the Leinster and Ulster armies, upon this occasion.

GENERAL

General O'Neale, notwithstanding that the bishop of Clogher did by his letters, written two days after the battle of Binborb, assure the council of the resolution he had taken to advance into the enemies quarters, being in a condition, as he confidently averred, to possess whatsoever the enemy had without the walls of his garrisons; yet, for what reason they knew not, changed that design, and making heavy complaints of the necessity he was in, had, of his own authority, quartered the most part of his army in the counties of Meath, Westmeath, and Longford, within the province of Leinster, who assumed a liberty to spoil the country, and to insult over the inhabitants; but that the Leinster party, which then served in Connaught, under the command of general Preston, whereof the greater number was levied in those counties, and their officers, many of them born there, resenting the deplorable condition of their country and kinsmen, caused letters to be sent to the council, under the signature of all their major officers, by which they advertised them, how great the miseries were, which their parents, their kindred and friends, suffered by the Ulster army, while they exposed their lives in the service of the publick, for the settlement of another province, protesting, if they were not speedily removed, that they would return to free those countries from the tyranny of that oppression. They told him, they had likewise considered, that the cessation of arms concluded with the marquis of Ormond,

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was within a few weeks to expire; and that in the caſe wherein the province of Leinſter then was, wholly deſtitute of forces to make any reſiſtance, it lay expoſed to be over-run by the leaſt party he might ſend out of Dublin; for upon that pretence, which would not render the demand ſuſpected, could the council deſire a further ceſſation of acts of hoſtility, when all difficulties, and eſpecially that condition of ſending over ten thouſand men, being removed, nothing might be reaſonably pretended, which might foreclose the concluſion of the peace. They likewiſe informed the nuncio of the preparation which the parliament had made to aſſiſt the lord of Inchiquin powerfully; and that although the fame of the ſending over an army, immediately was ſpread by many, and believed of moſt men, by reaſon ſome regiments of foot, and troops of horſe, were drawn to Briſtol; and that Sir John Jepſon was lately landed with ſome horſe; yet they were confident, that the year being ſo far advanced, the forces deſigned for Munſter would not be tranſported before the next ſpring, and that they therefore preſſed for a ſpeedy concluſion of the peace; to the end, the remains of that ſummer might not paſs over without enlarging their quarters in Munſter; as if nothing more could be done, without deſtroying the enemies corn, then ready to be reaped, and preying the country under his command, that ſo the army, which was to come to his aſſiſtance, might at leaſt be forced to bring proviſion of victuals with

it, even to sit down withal, and be compelled to expect further supplies from time to time, at so great uncertainty, as the wind and weather did expose them to.

Moreover they told him, how they had very great hopes upon good grounds; that many of the soldiers, and some of the officers, would fall from the lord of Inchiquin, and some places of no mean consequence in the enemies possession, be given up by those who commanded in them upon the conclusion of the peace, when the king's lieutenant in the head of an army came to summon them.

They desired him besides to consider, that when the kingdom should be once in a way of settlement, under the king's obedience, their forces, which now for want of means were useless to them, would then be put in a posture to oppugn the enemy; for although the marquis of Ormond was at present in as great streights as they, yet when the nation did observe that perfect obedience was paid to the king's authority in him, there would be those found, who to advance the various pretensions they had formed to themselves, would open their purses, and seek to derive their interests of honour, preferment, or profit, from that hand, which could secure it to them; nor would those be wanting, who upon private bargains and contracts would furnish the marquis of Ormond with considerable sums of money; and that the publick impositions would be paid more chearfully, when the nations de-

sires

ſires of peace, which (as his lordſhip might have obſerved, were exceedingly preſſed in the laſt aſſembly) ſhould be ſatisfied. Laſtly, they repreſented to him, how thoſe who were affected to the ways of the parliament of England (whereof there was ſtill many, and ſome of good quality in Dublin) had attempted to ſurprize the caſtle of that city, and failed but little of executing their deſign, and this at a time when the parliament was leſs proſperous in their undertakings againſt the king; and deſired him to conſider there might remain among them ſome active ſpirits, who would run any hazard, or plot any miſchief, to put that city into the hands of their patrons, now grown great by the unjuſt tyranny they exerciſed over their fellow ſubjects, throughout all the parts of England. And they ſaid, that he who did reflect ſeriouſly upon their caſe and condition, would find, that whatſoever was gained from the king by the parliament, was a double loſs to them, inaſmuch as it ſtreightened their irreconcileable enemies, and weakened that authority by which their pretenſions were to be granted and upheld; and that it would be thought more prudence in them, even without any conceſſions in matters of religion, if things were reduced to that extremity, to maintain his power, from whom there was ſome poſſibility left one day to receive favour, than to be maſters of a volume of airy grants, which would be all of them inſignificant, if by proclaiming what the king was to do for them, he ſhould be unpro-

vided, or for want of the ſupport of their arms and aſſiſtance wholly caſt down.

It ſeemed to the council, that though the nuncio might not think it fit to engage his full aſſent in the matter which was once agitated before him, without particular direction from his maſter; yet that their reaſons had brought him to that temper of indifferency, which would ſerve in their caſe; for upon cloſe of this debate, he ſaid, *Video ex iſta pace multum poſſe provenire boni, multum autem mali, Deus providebit.*

I have dwelt thus long upon this paſſage, and been ſo particular in it, becauſe it may ſerve the reader as an abridgment, where he will find deſcribed in little, the then ſtate of affairs, and the inclinations of the people; for the hiſtory, in the ſequel of it, will ſcarce afford us another ſtand, by reaſon the revolution, which was hatched much about this time, carried the nation inceſſantly down the hill, to their ruin: and aſſuredly it was to have been wiſhed by the confederates, that the reaſons which induced them to conclude that peace, had not been ſo convincing; for perhaps, if the inducements in themſelves had been leſs forcible, they would have endeavoured to ſupport it with care and induſtry; they would have laboured by preferments and hopes of rewards, to ſecure for the government the affection of the officers, who had greateſt power in the Leinſter and Connaught army; they would have kept the lord of Muſkry in the head of the Munſter army, and not ſent him to

Dublin,

Dublin, to be prefent at a ceremony which might be performed without him; and they might hinder the congregation at Waterford, as when experience had made them more wary and circumfpect; they interrupted the meeting of the fynod to be convened at Galway, but they had not any umbrage of a defign in the nuncio, to interrupt with fo high a hand their proceedings; nor in truth had they any apprehenfion it could lie in his power fo to do: and fome things happened at this very time, which entertained them in their credulity, I will not give it the name of artifice, becaufe I am not certain it was contrived to amufe them, nor have I reafon to fay it was real, confidering the event.

Doctor Edward Tyrrell, whom the council and committee meant to employ, with letters of credence to the queen of England, the queen regent, and the king of France, was then in town; and after his difpatch was prepared for him, he was commanded to fhew his inftructions to the nuncio, whereby he was directed both to inform them and cardinal Mazarine, that he left the confederates forward and willing to publifh the peace, fo long treated with the marquis of Ormond, relying as to matters of religion upon the earl of Glamorgan's agreement with them, and the further advantages by their mediation to be derived unto them, for which there was latitude left in an article relative to his majefty's further conceffions; inftructing him further, that in cafe ufe fhould be made in France of an inftrument,

which the earl of Glamorgan had given in by way of blindation, as he termed it, to free him from imprisonment, and the power of his adversaries; he should then produce the copy of the earl's declaration, presented to the council, by which it was made manifest that the confederate catholicks did at no time, nor upon any occasion or pretence wave the benefit of the said concessions, notwithstanding any writing which might appear to the contrary. These instructions being shewed and expounded in Latin to the nuncio, by the doctor, and some exception he had taken to the measure of confidence they expressed to have in the court of France, as if it had equalled that which they reposed in his master, being mended according to his direction, he seemed to be well satisfied with them. The council likewise took it for a further argument of the nuncio's being satisfied, that having told him at another time how, although they were confident, his lordship would give his holiness an exact relation of the proceedings of the confederate catholicks; yet they were resolved to send father Bernard Danelly, a man of known trust, and versed in employments of that nature to Rome, to inform the pope of the present state of their affairs, and to render him most humble and hearty thanks in their name, for the favours he was pleased to extend to the nation; and likewise to satisfy all objections, if any should be made, in the matter of the peace. The nuncio answered, that the council had done prudently to

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have taken that resolution, and that he believed they had chosen a fit person for that negotiation; and whether the dean of Firmois's overture was real or a contrivance, the more to afford the council a colour to flatter themselves in their credulity, I will not take upon me positively to determine; I shall then be thought to have performed my part, when I have let the reader know, that Massarius, dean of Firmo, a person of intimate trust with the nuncio, after the councils return to Kilkenny, when now there was no further doubt of his conclusion of the peace, applied himself to Sir Lucas Dillon first, and then to me, and expressed to both of us his desire to accompany the agent to be sent into Italy, alledging, as an inducement thereunto, that his relation (which he said, we might be sure, would be for the advantage of the nation) being a stranger, might perhaps find an easier belief with many, than what a person of the same country, and consequently interested in their concernment, would deliver; and therefore moved, that if the council thought it fit, they would recommend this as their own desire to the nuncio. Thus stood the affairs of the confederates, the 30th of July 1646, on which day the peace was solemnly proclaimed at Dublin, while in the mean time the nuncio summoned the prelates and other prime men of the clergy, together with the heads of religious orders to meet at Waterford, where without descending to give sanction to an apostolical visitation, in order to

the holding of a national ſynod, for which end (as was given out) they were convened, the congregation fell immediately to debate of the peace, and to undervalue it, as no way advantageous, and inſecure for catholick religion; and when once the apprehenſion of ſome prelates, who feared to engage the exhauſted country in a new war, were quieted by the nuncio's promiſes of large aſſiſtances from Rome, and that the archbiſhop of Caſhel had given his aſſent, by ſaying, *in verbo tuo laxabo rete:* then the queſtion for many days agitated, whether they were to be declared perjured, who would accept the peace, was immediately reſolved in the affirmative, and a decree to that ſenſe drawn up, and ſigned by the nuncio, and all the congregation; and the next day after, which was the 13th of Auguſt, 1646, the lord viſcount Mountgarret, lord viſcount Muſkry, and others, by whoſe advice the lord lieutenant was to be directed in ſeveral particulars of great concernment to the confederates, mentioned in the articles of peace, were enjoined, upon pain of excommunication, not to repair to Dublin, to execute the charge impoſed upon them.

THERE was likewiſe a decree made upon the ſame penalty, forbidding any publick dues to be collected or paid over to thoſe formerly appointed by the confederates to receive them, and encouragement given to the people to reſiſt; this, of all their commands, met with the promptest obedience, and men were ſo pleaſed with the obſervance

obſervance of it, that when themſelves had ſoon after moulded a new government, by the name of the council and congregation, they found much difficulty to bring the country to open their purſes.

ALTHOUGH the confederates had now diſcovered ſo unexpected and violent an averſion to the peace, yet they inſiſted ſtill upon the ways they had taken, and having cauſed it to be proclaimed with due ſolemnity at Kilkenny, at Caſhel, and Clonmel, they employed Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Mr. Patrick Darcy to the congregation, if it were poſſible to appeaſe them; but theſe, and other applications of this kind, did rather increaſe their confidence to carry all before them, than induce them to decline the ways they had propoſed to themſelves, and the menaces of eccleſiaſtical cenſures were grown ſo formidable to theſe gentlemen ſent to ſatisfy them, that to the great encouragement of thoſe that ſided with the nuncio, they returned no more to thoſe who ſent them.

THIS notwithſtanding, the marquis of Ormond being invited to Kilkenny, and informed by many that his preſence would ſoon remove the cauſes, or ſuppreſs the effects of the clergy's diſcontent, went thither, and was received with that ſolemn pomp which is uſual at ſuch entries, and with great acclamations, and extraordinary demonſtrations of joy; but he had ſoon found that as the nuncio would not be quieted, but upon ſuch terms as were not in his power to grant,

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so he had resorted to that forcible argument of general O'Neal's army, by which he meant to justify his demands to be reasonable, and establish a government that would avow them for such; wherefore the marquis of Ormond, who had reason to be jealous of that army's readiness to advance upon the clergy's invitation, because the peace had not been proclaimed in it, sent several letters and messages to general Preston, and all those he believed well affected, urging them to draw to a body, for making good the peace, they had so chearfully received, and for the preservation of the country from the rapine of the northern army, wherewith they had been acquainted. By some he was answered, that their men were dispersed by the fright of an excommunication, by others, that they had no means to draw or keep them in a body, by reason the collectors, terrified by the ecclesiastical censures, would pay them nothing: and when he sent to speak with general Preston, in hope to disabuse him, if any thing from the clergy stuck with him, he excused his repair to him with his being sick. Advertisement was likewise brought him, that as the herald of arms vested in the coat of his office, attended on by Sir John Bourke, mayor of Limerick, the aldermen and principal inhabitants, was proclaiming the peace at the market-cross, the multitude and meaner sort of people, excited by the clergy, who had published the censures decreed by the congregation at Waterford a few days before, under the conduct,

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and by the instigation of Mr. Dominick Fannin and one Wolfe a friar, fell on the sudden to flinging of stones at the herald, at the mayor, and those of the better sort, who assisted to countenance that solemn action; and having diordered their ranks with so unexpected a volley, they flew in amongst them, wounding the herald, and tearing his coat of arms from off his shoulders, beating the mayor and some of the aldermen, and without any reverence to their scarlet gowns, or the badges of magistracy, drove them for shelter into the next door that stood open, and soon after, with a popular suffrage, without consulting their charter, or any antient custom for a form of election, they chose Dominick Fanning (for what might they not do, who were masters of the field) to be their mayor; and to him the nuncio was said, within a few days after by his letter, to have given thanks for the obedience he had expressed to his decrees, and for his zeal in assisting the catholick cause. Notwithstanding those symptoms of that general resolution which followed soon after, the lord lieutenant went to his house at Carrick, where he might at a nearer distance from Waterford receive any overture to be made, and best discover the nuncio's intention, whom he found wholly bent upon rejecting the peace, and left Kilkenny, where of all things, this he said appeared most strange to him, that the Irish having fought so long for the exercise, as they pretended, of their religion in churches,

churches, ſhould now ſhut themſelves out of them, when they were allowed to have them open, but this was the effect of the biſhop of Oſſory's interdict, publiſhed about that time. From hence he went in progreſs to Caſhell, attended by his friends and domeſticks, and ſome few of his guard, intending to cheriſh by his preſence there the good affections of thoſe who not many days before had chearfully proclaimed the peace, but being got within four miles of that city, he met a letter from the mayor, deſiring him not to come thither, for that he and the town were threatened if they received him, to be utterly deſtroyed by the northern army, then within a day's march of them; and at the ſame time the lord viſcount Dillon and others, brought him intelligence of the advance of that army in purſuit of him, Mac Thomas, likewiſe with the Munſter horſe, to whom the nuncio had but two days before ſent three hundred pounds as a mark of his favour, appeared upon a hill near Clonmell.

The marquis of Ormond finding as well by this powerful oppoſition prepared againſt him, as by his want of advertiſement of that army's march, though it came cloſe by general Preſton, until it was at ſo near a diſtance to him, conceived it was high time for him to look back to the ſmall party of foot he had left near Kilkenny, wherefore ſending them orders to draw back towards Dublin, and having marched all that night, he quartered his horſe at Kells, five

miles

miles ſhort of them; and thence ſent the earl of Caſtlehaven and Sir George Hamilton to the mayor and aldermen of Kilkenny, to inform them of the advance of the northern army, and of his reſolution (if they demanded his aſſiſtance, and would adhere firmly to the peace) to ſtick to them, but the terror of the approach of that army, prevailed with them to deſire him to paſs on his way, they being unwilling to engage his perſon in a town ſo defenceleſs; and thoſe who a fortnight before had employed both coſt and invention in erecting ſtatues and triumphal arches adorned with inſcriptions, ſetting forth his own actions, and the trophies of his anceſtors, were ſuddenly as buſy in pulling them down, and defacing the monuments of his ſolemn entry, leſt the northern army which could have eaſily maſtered, might be incenſed to their deſtruction. So fickle are the affections of men, and ſubject to change, is that to which we give the name of proſperity, whence we may gather how fond their purſuit is, who without regard to that immutable incorruptible happineſs which is faſtened with thoſe adamantine grapples of eternity, do loſe themſelves in queſt of an object, whoſe permanency depends of the good liking of others, and cannot in true judgment be thought real, ſince it was tranſitory. The lord marquis of Ormond making haſte to prevent being ſtopped by general Owen O'Neale, who was ſaid to have marched faſt to the left hand, a nearer way to Dublin, came, by long marches, thither

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the 30th of September; and ſoon after his arrival, received letters from Sir Lucas Dillon and doctor Garret Fannell, whom thoſe of the late ſupream council, had upon the receſs of the lord lieutenant, employed to Waterford to mediate an atonement, and to diſpoſe the clergy to accept of the peace, by which he underſtood, they had given in ſome overtures to the congregations which were under debate, and that they made it their requeſt to him, that while there remained any hope of compoſing the difference, acts of hoſtility might be forborn.

The marquis of Ormond was well pleaſed to hear them motion a ceſſation of arms, as well becauſe he was in hope that the clergy's firſt heat began to cool, and that deſcending to think calmly of all the calamities which unavoidably were to follow the rejection of the peace, they would be content to think of a reconciliation upon reaſonable terms: as alſo becauſe he might have reſpite to inform the king of what had paſſed, and to provide thoſe neceſſaries whereof he ſtood in want for defence of the places under his command, in caſe the northern army ſhould advance into his quarters, and therefore by his anſwer expreſſed a very great willingneſs to have a ceſſation. But although the traffick for an accommodation was continued, and that the congregation by their expreſſions ſeemed to affect it, yet they could not be won to engage their promiſe for a ſuſpenſion of acts of hoſtility, which were deferred no longer than while general

Owen

Owen O'Neale remained encamped within a mile to Kilkenny, to be a countenance to the nuncio in eſtabliſhing his new government, and caſting thoſe into priſon who had formerly ſerved the confederates in the place of their ſupream magiſtrate, together with other perſons of quality, that affected the quiet of the kingdom, and ſought to preſerve the publick faith from being violated, as you will underſtand by what follows. The nuncio, with the truſtees of the late congregation at Waterford, not a little pleaſed that they had driven away the marquis of Ormond, were now come to Kilkenny, which city upon ſubmiſſion was not only freed from the interdict, but received into the protection of the nuncio, and ſo ſecured from having their liberties pillaged and deſtroyed by the northern army, then ſat down by them.' Here they began to execute what before was deſigned at Waterford, and ſending ſeveral perſons of quality to thoſe gentlemen they meant to make priſoners, ſome of them were brought to the biſhop of Clogher's chamber, others remained in their lodgings under the guard of the perſons appointed to conduct them, until they were all conveyed at a time prefixed to the caſtle of Kilkenny by general Preſton and general Owen O'Neale, aſſiſted by ſome officers of the army, who taking their leaves very civilly of their priſoners at the gate, returned to take order for thoſe who were appointed for a ſecond miſſion. Thoſe conducted at that time were colonel Edward Butler, now

lord

lord viſcount Mountgarret, Sir Lucas Dillon, knight, ſon to Sir Tibbott Dillon, lord viſcount Coſteloe, colonel Walter Bagnell, Mr. Thomas Tyrrel, and * myſelf; Sir Pierce Croſby, doctor Fennel, and Mr. Wall of Ballinekilly after two days increaſed our number, and the lord viſcount Muſkry, whom out of reſpect they cauſed to be guarded in his chamber, made earneſt ſuit to be acquit of the favour done him, and to be admitted to bear his friends company in the place where they ſtood impriſoned, which being granted he was added to the reſt. Nor was their care confined to thoſe of the council, and the active promoters of the peace, then in the city with them, it extended to the impriſonment of Sir Robert Talbot and others who were ſent to Galway, to lay hands on Mr. Geofry Brown, which were obeyed; but the warrant which was ſoon after ſent to deliver him to the ſheriff of the county to be conveyed to Cloughoughter, in the north met not with the ſame obedience, for he being a gentleman allied to the prime men of the town, and generally dear to all the inhabitants, by reaſon of the merit of his fair carriage and abilities, they were no way inclined to put his life into the power of his enemies, although they thought fit to pay their obedience to the commands of the council and congregation ſo far as to reſtrain him of his li-

* Richard Belling, Eſq; ſecretary to the ſupreme council.

berty.

berty. Those men, whom they knew irreconcilable to their ways, being thus removed, the lord nuncio and congregation, assisted with the presence, authority, and advice of the lord general of Leinster, and the lord general of Ulster, determine of a council to govern the kingdom; and so with the same formality of two generals bringing up the rear, and as little ceremony as was used in committing the late council, the new men are inaugurated, and an instrument printed to publish what they had done by virtue of the legislative power assumed by them.

The result of their first consultation was the design of besieging Dublin, the metropolis of the kingdom, the enemies great magazine of all provisions for the war, the seat of protestant viceroy, and the council possessing the same religion with him; and, in fine, a place which, abstracting the end from the means to come by it, had advantages sufficient to justify the greatness of their resolution. The first grounds of the enterprize being thus laid, the nuncio with his council, the more to free themselves from the concourse and importunity of suitors, went to Kilka, one of the manor houses belonging to the earl of Kildare, then in the possession of father Robert Nugent, provincial of the jesuits, by the grant of the countess dowager of Kildare, who died not long before, having bequeathed him for the use of the society all her goods, of which he gave to the nuncio, by way of loan, to the value

of fifteen hundred pounds in plate, which, together with ſome monies the nuncio borrowed of Don Diego de la Torres, reſident from the Spaniſh king, was employed in advancing this expedition. While they remained here, preparing ſuch things as they conceived neceſſary for carrying on the great work they had undertaken, father Nugent, in purſuance of the zeal he expreſſed to the nuncio's ways, both by being very inſtrumental in rejecting the peace, and by contributing ſo conſiderably in his late preſent, gave the council and congegation to underſtand, that he meant to eaſe them of the greateſt part of their care; for having deſcended to all particulars, and with an exact ſcrutiny computed the number of bread which would ſuffice both their armies, and conſidered both the quantity and quality of the corn to be brought in by the adjacent counties, and the ways to be taken for the making of it into bread, and the carriage neceſſary for conveying it to the camp, he would himſelf aſſume that charge, and doubted not to render ſatisfactory account of his employment; to which, with many thanks from the nuncio for his offer, he applied himſelf immediately.

The two generals likewiſe, during the nuncio's abode at Kilka, came thither; of thoſe the general of Ulſter had already avowedly by acts of hoſtility diſclaimed in the peace; for riſing from the place where he ſat encamped near Kilkenny, he advanced with his army into Leix,

and

and the parts of the county of Kildare contiguous to it, where he took the fort of Maryborough, Athy, Grange-melan, Balle Adams, Shade-bally, by composition; but the castle of Dysart which belonged to captain John Piggot, who then commanded in it, being not delivered upon summons, because he believed it would not be carried without ordnance, which that army wanted, was stormed, and the garrison put to the sword by those that entered it, who were said to have broken their faith in murdering captain Piggot, after quarter was given him. General Preston also had not only gathered the forces under his command to a body, but was daily reinforcing them with new recruits, and though he acted nothing with violence, yet it was evident that his unauthorized preparations tended to war. Wherefore the lord lieutenant, though he no way doubted of the resolution they had taken, and had as little hope to divert them from it, yet because he was desirous to know by what colour they meant to justify their proceedings, and to receive an answer attested by themselves, sent a trumpet with a joint letter to them, by which he expostulated the matter, and by their several answers of the eighth of October from Kilka, general Preston, who not many days before with much solemnity proclaimed the peace in his army, now avows it destructive to his religion, and the liberty of the nation; and general Owen O'Neale, who had not proclaimed

it, is leſs poſitive in his language, and alledges for reaſon of gathering and reinforcing his army, that he did it upon occaſion of the confuſion diſperſedly raiſed in the country and the nation, being no way ſatisfied in point of religion; and to his having entered into acts of hoſtility, he anſwers as if he would have it believed, that the forts and caſtles rendered upon his ſummons, were only transferred to be poſſeſſed by ſuch as were more faithful to his majeſty than thoſe who formerly enjoyed them, ſo as rather than want an excuſe, he returns this, we have heard.

The lord lieutenant was aſſured of their deſign, and was advertized of the ſtrength of both armies, conſiſting of ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand foot, and as many hundred horſe, together with ther reſolution to ſtorm the unfortified city, and to carry it by a general aſſault. He had likewiſe diſcovered that general Preſton, who was himſelf, as alſo the party he commanded, notwithſtanding his leſs ſmooth expreſſion, more inclinable to a ſettlement, although he could not be prevailed with to co-operate in it, without the clergy were entirely ſatisfied in their demands for religion. However, the lord lieutenant believed it might be uſeful in the caſe he was in (though he could not conceal his diſlike of general Preſton's proceedings) yet to let him underſtand there were others whom he thought more criminal than he conceived him and his party to be, and thereupon wrote him this letter.

SIR,

SIR,

IN answer to a letter of mine dated the eighth of this month, I received one from you dated the tenth of the same, wherein you say, that finding the peace that was concluded and published, destructive to your religion, and liberty of the nation, to the maintenance of which, together with his majesty's just prerogatives, you had formerly sworn, you called together your regiments, and issued new commissions for reinforcing your army; and you declare your intention therein to be no other, than to comply with your former resolution and engagement, which you desire may be accorded with assurance, whereby you may be the better enabled to comply with his majesty's necessities in serving him; whereunto, though it were a reply sufficient to put you in mind, that the late peace was treated on, concluded, and published by the transaction and consent of such persons, as had full authority derived unto them in that behalf from the whole body of your party, represented by your general assembly, and that what they should conclude by virtue of that authority, whether advantageous or prejudicial to those that trusted them, ought to have been inviolably stuck unto, how blame-worthy soever they may be pretended to be for transgressing instructions, which is a principle so necessary for begetting confidence among men, that if it be once shaken, there

remains no means to compose arising differences but the devouring sword. Yet, because I hope neither you, nor those that follow you, are stained with the guilt, and inflamed with those disloyal ambitions that work in others to the destruction of the kingdom, I shall desire to know wherein you find the liberty of the nation infringed, or your religion destroyed? and why the united forces of the kingdom are bent against me? and those that adhere to me, who have had so long a cessation and treaty with you, who since the beginning of the cessation have molested none, but such, as for the forementioned ends, are displeased at the conclusion of a peace, and who only, of all that are in this kingdom, have been and still are governed by his majesty's sole authority. And those questions I demand; not that I mistrust my power to defend myself, and that I will, by any force, be removed from these just grounds I stand upon; but in compassion to those that by impious arts are drawn into ways leading to the highest disloyalty, the foulest ingratitude, and most certain ruin that ever people were betrayed unto. And so I rest,

Your very loving friend,

ORMOND.

From his majesty's Castle of Dublin,
27 October, 1646.

General

General Preston's answer.

May it please your excellency,

IN answer of yours unto me, I shall return unto your excellency the propositions we desire to be satisfied in, within these two or three days, which being of great concernment, may not be done without some debate thereof. In the mean time your excellency's pardon is craved, by, my lord,

Your excellency's most humble servant,

THO. PRESTON.

From our camp at Naas, 30th of Oct. 1646.

THE lord lieutenant, when first this cloud began to gather, having resolved in his mind all the ways by which he might shelter himself from so dangerous a storm, made choice, as the speediest and nearest at hand, to put the Scotch officers in Ulster in mind of the application they made unto him not long before, and the willingness they expressed by their letters, that thence after they might be known to have one cause and one enemy, for the prosecution of whom they would be aiding and assisting in all things; and because they here give us occasion to shew you the different ways by which their interests lead them, it will not be amiss to dwell some time upon that subject. Those who acknowledged the king's authority in the marquis of Ormond, paid obedience to it, retained that form both of publick government and ecclesiastical discipline, which

the laws had ordained for the one, and the statutes enacted since the suppression against whose rigour the catholicks made incessant complaints, prescribed for the other. The Scots, though there were some amongst them that had good affections for the king and his government, yet they were generally zealous for the covenant, and engaged in church discipline much different from that which was established by those statutes, and under the title of king and parliament, fought against monarchy.

There were many likewise of the English had a more immediate influence, than upon the Scots, who were not only maintained by them, and in arms for them; but were pliant to those principles of faith, which the presbyterian or independent party in the parliament, according as they prevailed, infused into them.

Those two, besides the small distance between both nations, were not free from particular animosities, the one against the other; for the Scots looking upon Ulster as part of their share in the conquest of Ireland, did ill brook the fellowship of the English in that province, and repined at the great estates they enjoyed in a country almost contiguous to Scotland; and the English considering the Scots as men waged to fight under the authority of the parliament of England, were not only offended at the hopes they had entertained, but they forbare not to call things past in question, and to murmur against the munificence of king James, who had planted

the

the subject of a distinct crown, and given them such vast possessions in a dominion inseparable from England. But although differences of this kind bred and fomented distrusts and jealousies among those parties, according to the diversity of their interests, yet there was a two-fold tie, which kept them joined in opposing the confederates; the one was their unanimous aversion to the pope's supremacy, which the catholicks maintained: for how much soever those who adhered to the liturgy of the church of England, and the rigid tenets of the presbyterians, or to the directory of the independents, varied among themselves not only in church discipline, but even in the fundamentals of faith; yet that was the center of their union, and they made it their common cause, under the name of protestants, to oppugn the pope's supremacy; the other was the interest of the British nation, which all of them made their concernment to defend against the Irish natives.

The lord lieutenant, therefore, taking occasion from their professions in the letter, which we said was written to him, to call upon assistance from the Scots, in order to the maintenance of those principles which his party had common with them, sent captain William Cuningham to them with letters of credence, instructed to let them know the streights wherein he was, the power of the enemy, the progress they had made in taking several places, and how fatal it would be to the rest of the kingdom, if Dublin the head city of

it

it were gained. Wherefore, to prevent the mischiefs which thereby might befal the British protestants, he desired they would send him the number of one thousand foot, or more, and what proportion of horse would forthwith be had from thence, he desired that some horse and dragoons might be sent him, bringing ammunition with them, who, during the time of their stay, should have free quarter; or in case this should be inconvenient, he desired they would draw forth such a party as might somewhat divert the enemy: and to encourage the more to condescend to his request, he gave them to understand, that he had sent commissioners to the parliament, by whom such propositions were made, as that he was assured from thence, that his message was chearfully accepted, that the parliament had a deep sense of the dangers threatened the city, and that there was good hope of speedy relief to be sent to him.

Five days after the dispatch of this officer thus intrusted, Sir Francis Willoughby, one of his majesty's council, arrived at Dublin, bringing certain news with him, that two regiments of foot and three hundred horse were ready to be shipped for their relief. Although this advertisement was received by the marquis of Ormond with outward expressions of joy, yet it was hard to say, whether he had greater apprehension of the advance of the Irish to besiege the town, or of the landing of those succours which he believed the parliament had so readily sent, rather to reduce the

the place to their own obedience, than to conserve it under his majesty's authority; wherefore he employed major Seafoule Gibson immediately with second letters to the Scotch officers, to press the speedy march of their men, and gave him private instructions, by which he was to inform colonel George Monroe and those he conceived faithful to the king's interests, of his doubts and fears of the parliament's intentions not to be prevented without speedy succours from them; and because the marquis of Ormond's perplexed condition, and the advantages which both the parliament of England and the Scots might have in design to defend from it, cannot be set forth more lively, than by affording the reader a sight of those letters and instructions given major Seafoule, I have here inserted them.

To his excellency the lord marquis of Ormond.

Please your excellency,

HAVING seen your excellency's letter to the general, major, and other officers British and Scotch, we desired to meet, whereby your excellency might receive our joint answer; but the weather hath been so tempestuous, and other business have intervened, so as the British could not be present; but our respects to your excellency's were so great, as we conceived it our duty to return this gentleman of our number to let your excellency know, that we are very willing

willing that ſuch correſpondency be kept by us towards thoſe who have your excellency's paſs, as we may hereafter be known to have one cauſe and one enemy; and for the proſecution of them, we ſhall be aiding in all things we can to your excellency. And therefore we humbly deſire to be informed by this bearer, how the condition of affairs are, beſides your excellency; and by what way the ſervice may be beſt advanced, that our jealouſy being removed, which has continued too long, we may with full confidence reſt upon your excellency in every thing wherein the public cauſe may be concerned, and ourſelves furthered to our intereſt. The bearer will give your excellency more ſatisfaction than we can write. So we leave, aſſuring that we are your excellency's humble ſervants,

Alexander Ker. Robert Kennedy. S. Hamilton. S. Cachmbreky. Robert Nornbill. J. Montgomery. George Monroe. Innerliver.

To Alexander Ker, Robert Kennedy, S. Hamilton, S. Cachimbreky, Robert Monbill, J. Montgomery, George Monro, and Innerliver.

AFTER our hearty commendations, we received yours of the 9th of this month by captain Cuningham, and with ſingular ſatisfaction find therein your good affection to the public

lic cauſe, and the reſpects you are pleaſed to expreſs to us, and the confidence you are ready to repoſe in us, for which we return you hearty thanks, with this aſſurance, that we ſhall moſt gladly purſue the correſpondence now begun betwixt us, 'till all jealouſy may be fully removed, ſo we ſhall lay hold on all occaſions that may manifeſt our earneſt deſire to perfect ſo neceſſary a work, and evidence the high value he ſet upon your worth and friendſhip. We have given the bearer the beſt information we could of the condition of affairs here; and in other particulars, to whoſe relation in that behalf for the preſent, we refer you; our intention being, as occaſion ſhall be offered, for the good of the ſervice, to give you frequent advertiſement how, in our opinion, it may, together with your intereſt, be beſt advanced. And ſo we remain, from his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, this 24th of October, 1746, your affectionate friend,

ORMOND.

Remembrances for Captain William Cuningham.

1. Our condition at preſent is weak, compared with the force of the enemy, which they have drawn from all the provinces towards thoſe quarters, ſuppoſing if they gain this city, whereupon all our leſſer garriſons depend, they ſhall ſoon after not only repair any loſs they can ſuſtain in the mean time elſewhere, but quickly make themſelves maſters of the whole kingdom.

2. They

2. THEY have already taken the forts of Mariborough, Athy, Disert, Grange, Mellow, Stradbally, Ballyadams, Harristown, Cothlanstown, and Castlewarning, and put men into them; the two first, namely Mariborough and Athy, were garrisons, the rest but private houses, yet in the loss of them our contribution is much lessened.

3. THERE are commissioners from us sent to parliament, by whom such propositions are made, as that by letters of 13th of this month, they assure us, that our message is chearfully accepted, that the parliament hath a deep sense of the dangers threatened this place, and that there is good hope of speedy relief to be sent thither.

4. IF the officers of the Scots army shall please to send for our present assistance the number of one thousand foot or more, and what proportion of horse they shall think fit, they will be readily received, and part of them disposed into Drogheda or Dublin if they shall desire it; that the rest, which for their better subsistence, must be placed upon the frontier, may have a secure retreat in all events. If they shall chuse to come into Drogheda or Dublin, then they are to obey such orders as they will with all possible respect and civility receive from the governor of those places; but if they shall chuse to remain together in any other garrisons we have, they shall have commission for the sole command thereof, and receive orders only from myself and the general Officers of the army.

5. WHERE-

5. WHERESOEVER they ſhall chuſe to be, they ſhall be admitted to uſe their own form of ſervice, and have their own miniſters, and a church aſſigned to them, ſaving to the preſent incumbent his right.

6. THERE can be no certainty of means, be aſſured for them, more than can be gotten by enlarging our quarters, which with the aſſiſtance of horſe, which they ſhall receive from hence, there is no queſtion we ſhall ſoon do; and it is conceived, that in their march hither, they may get a great proportion of cattle, ſuch (as with the help I hope to give them) may afford them ſubſiſtence, 'till by taking the field, we ſhall, by God's help, enlarge our quarters.

7. WHEN I know the certain time of their march, there ſhall a good party of horſe meet them as far as Dundalk or Newry, if I be not hindered by the rebels approach in the mean time.

8. THERE is here no more ammunition than will ſuffice for the men already here, ſo that they muſt bring a ſupply thereof with them.

9. IF upon knowledge of this our condition, the Scots officers ſhall think fit to advance to our aſſiſtance, I ſhall be ready to give them what aſſurance they pleaſe for their ſafety, and for my real intention to ſerve them, in advancing the public and their own juſt intereſt, as on the other ſide, I ſhall expect a reciprocal engagement upon the ſame ends.

10. IF

10. If those helps cannot forthwith be had thence, it is desired that some horse and dragoons may be sent us, bringing ammunition with them, for whom provision of free quarter shall be made, as long as they stay with us; and if this be inconvenient, then that they should draw forth such a party as may somewhat divert the enemy; in doing of which they cannot fail of such a booty as will recompense the expedition.

ORMOND.

Dublin castle, the 24th of October, 1645.

To our very loving friends colonel Robert Hume, colonel George Monroe, colonel John Hamilton, lieutenant colonel William Cuningham, and two other the officers commanding regiments in the Scottish army; and to every of them to be imparted unto the rest.

AFTER our hearty commendations. Since the departure hence of capt. William Cuningham, we have received certain intelligence that the enemy will forthwith advance to the besieging of this city, which neither for numbers of faithful men, nor for goodness of the works, is in that condition of strength as were to be wished; wherefore, though we no way doubt, but upon receipt of our letters and remembrances committed to the care of capt. Cuningham, you will have so deep a sense of the imminent danger threatened

threatened this place, and therein by consequence to all the British and protestants in this kingdom, as that this letter may find a good party from you in their march thither; yet lest upon the arrival of Sir Francis Willoughby (who landed yesterday the 28th of this month) and upon notice given you from hence or out of England, that two regiments of foot and three hundred horse were ready to be shipped hither (as we are by the said Sir Francis Willoughby certainly informed they are) you should judge that access of strength sufficient; and so either totally forbear or delay your needful assistance; we have thought fit for prevention of any such resolution, which upon the aforesaid grounds might be taken by you, to dispatch unto you the bearer hereof, major Seafoule Gibson, most earnestly desiring you forthwith to send us what possible assistance of men you can spare from the necessary defence of your important garrisons; for though we give full credit to Sir Francis Willoughby's relation, and do verily believe the horse and foot, formerly mentioned, are in readiness at the water side, yet the casualty of wind and weather, especially at this time of the year, is so great, that if the wind, which now is, and for many days hath been in the east, should change, it might perhaps prove dangerous to this place, that we should attend the coming of it to the east again. And so again desiring you to take this seriously into your consideration, and to give full credence to what shall be delivered unto

you from us by major Seafoule Gibſon, we remain from his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin the 29th of October, 1646,

Your loving friend,

ORMOND.

Inſtructions for major Seafoule Gibſon, to be by him obſerved in his negociation with the officers of the Scottiſh army.

1. You are to deliver the letter herewith given you to colonel George Monroe, or to whom he ſhall direct you.

2. You are to communicate theſe following things only to colonel George Monroe, and to ſuch as he ſhall direct.

3. You are to let the colonel and whom he ſhall direct, know, that I ſuſpect the good acceptance of our commiſſioners, and their meſſage at London, was only in ſhew, their intention being with the men, they immediately intend to ſend hither, under countenance of aſſiſting us, to make them maſters of this place, which they will eaſily compaſs, unleſs men be forthwith ſent from the Scots army to prevent it, for the affection that ſome here bear to the parliament, and the terror wrought in all by the rebels approach is ſo great, that if forces from the parliament appear, I ſhall be forced to receive them, or run evident hazard of being betrayed to them; and for my ſuſpicion that ſuch is the deſign, I have grounds plain enough, though too long to be here ſet down.

4. You

4. You are to let the said colonel know, that here is sufficient provision of beef, herrings and corn in the city, which upon this occasion I will make no scruple to take up where I can find it; and that for quarter, I will make them sufficient room in and about our garrisons, by removing hence such as I most suspect to affect the parliament, and particularly I will receive into Dublin five hundred of the Scottish army.

5. You are to let them know, that I shall for my security, and in discharge of the trust reposed in me by his majesty, expect an engagement from them upon their honours, that they will not attempt any alteration of the government, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, by force within our quarters, but shall suffer things to remain as they are, 'till his majesty's directions, or by my consent during my serving his majesty in this place, any such alteration shall be commanded or agreed unto. As on my part I shall freely engage myself for their security against any apprehensions they may have, and to further their just interest with all my power.

6. I SHALL expect the like declaration upon their honours, for their adhering to, and defending all monarchy in the person and royal line of my master king Charles.

LASTLY. You are to let them know, that though the men expected out of England should arrive, I will, through all hazards, oppose their entrance into the city, 'till I know the success of

this message. Given at Dublin this 29th of October, 1646.

ORMOND.

To his excellency the lord marquis of Ormond.

Our noble lord,

WE received both your excellency's letters together, and are most willing to entertain a perfect correspondency with your excellency in all things may be in our powers, but when we duly consider your excellency's desire for the sending of our men into those parts, to be disposed of as your excellency finds expedient, we receive it accompanied with so many expressing difficulties, as in this our weak condition we could not yield thereto, and wherefore we earnestly intreat your excellency to consider of our condition and reasons herewith sent; and receiving content therein, we shall be ready to do our utmost endeavour in giving your excellency satisfaction, for we consider ourselves to be so weakened by our sending of men into Scotland, and our loss received in the fields, as without the conjunction of the British in those parts, we cannot be assured of our maintenance here, seeing they have opposed us in seeking thereof, when we were together; so that if your excellency would please to cause to deal with them for their conjunction, we might be enabled to supply your excellency, and defend their parts in case of

of opposition, which may still be expected, when the enemy pleases to turn this way; and we shall be useless for this country, by whose labours we live; therefore we find the disposition your excellency pleases to nominate of the people, not to be sufficient for our engagement out of this province; and therefore we think it necessary, that your excellency would (in case they were sent) give them Drogheda for their garrison, to be commanded by our officer, who shall receive your excellency's orders only; and notwithstanding hereof, it shall be still understood, that a good part of them may be made use of in Dublin or elsewhere, as your excellency shall find necessary. These things we thought to represent unto your excellency, and desire your excellency's serious consideration thereof; giving many humble thanks for your excellency's respects towards us, and assuring your excellency, that those scruples being removed, we shall be willing to stretch ourselves in the performance of every thing shall be in the power of your excellency's humble servants,

Geo. Monroe, Jo. Hamilton, G. Gordon, William Cunningham, Geo. Barclay, John Maxwell, T. Dalyell, Rt. Kennedy, Da. Monroe, Da. Fergussone, Samuel Hamilton, Mellettome.

Carrickfergus, this 10th November, 1646.

To his excellency the lord marquis of Ormond.

My lord,

YOUR excellency's letters came here, and were received with singular respect by all. But when I considered our own weakness, either to get bread in their parts for the remnant, or incapacity of putting your excellency in such condition as the enemy might be opposed by the access of our men, I conceived it rather prejudicial to your excellency than advantageous, and absolutely tending to our ruin. Wherefore my humble advice unto your excellency is, that your excellency would deal with the British for their conjunction, and by that means our remnant should be secure, and your excellency enabled here or there to oppose the common enemy; nor am I so cautious for ourselves, as to desire your excellency to procure the conjunction of them all, but will be well satisfied with the half of them; and so will be willing to go on in your excellency's assistance. I humbly intreat your excellency may not take it in ill part the not sending of our people at this time, but rather be assured, that we would send them on such terms, as the sending of them might be an irrevocable ground of union betwixt your excellency and us, here to the good of both, and so I doubt not but your excellency will pursue it with conveniency, and rest assured that none shall

ſhall be more forward in this, nor in any thing, wherein your excellency may be ſerved than myſelf, who am your excellency's humble ſervant,

G. MONROE.

Carrickfergus, the 11th of Nov. 1646.

The bearer perchance is not ſo well ſatisfied as to give your Excellency great hopes of any good this way, but I believe your excellency will conſider the ground muſt be laid ere it be fit to build on.

THUS we have ſeen the marquis of Ormond diſtracted between the menaces of a profeſſed enemy marching to beſiege him, and the diſtruſt of inſecure aſſiſtants, we may obſerve how the Scots now grown weaker after the loſs of the battle of Binborbe, endeavour that by the means of the marquis of Ormond, they might be ſecured from their fears of the Engliſh in their neighbourhood, and how loath they are to draw any part of their ſtrength out of that province, unleſs it were to poſſeſs Drogheda, which next Dublin was the beſt garriſon in the hands of thoſe who were under the command of the lord lieutenant, and obeyed the king's authority.

WHILE by the intercourſe of meſſages and letters the marquis of Ormond treats with the Scots, the nuncio with the two armies of the confederates, which received his orders, paſt the river of the

Liffey, where many of those of the counties of Westmeath and Longford, who inlisted themselves in the Ulster army, when it marched that way, upon the bruite that was spread of general Owen O'Neal's resolution to pillage the county and city of Kilkenny, because they had embraced the peace, deserted their colours, finding themselves deceived in their expectation. The head-quarter, where the nuncio with the council and congregation fixed their residence, was at Lucan, six miles from Dublin, and the soldiers of both armies, as being come to the enemies country (notwithstanding the proclamation to the contrary) made booty of all that came to hand, whereby all hope was taken away of having the camp furnished with a market, and this added to the incommodity they suffered, through want of mills, which together with the bridges the marquis of Ormond caused to be broken down upon their advance, and to the abundance of rain, which was unusual at that season, and then fell almost to a miracle.

The armies began, after a while, to feel a scarcity of what was necessary for them, even in that part of their subsistance with which father Nugent undertook they should be plentifully provided, the good man, how perfect soever his mathematical demonstrations might have been, having failed in the practice, which affords a thousand circumstances that most commonly lie out of the road of speculation. In the mean time, while yet those armies were in a flourishing

flourishing condition, the council and congregation had digested into propositions what they meant to insist on, and gave them to the two generals, to be sent by their conveyance, which in obedience to the council and congregations commands they inclosed in this letter.

May it please your Excellency,

BY the commands of the confederate catholicks of this kingdom, we offer the inclosed propositions. We have under our leading two armies; our thoughts are the best to our religion, king, and country; our ends to establish the first, and make the two following secure and happy: it is a great part of our care and desires, to purchase your excellency to the effecting of so blessed a work. We do not desire the effusion of blood, and to that purpose, the inclosed propositions are sent from us; we pray to God your consideration of them may prove fruitful. We are commanded to pray your excellency to send an answer to them by two of the clock in the afternoon on Thursday next. Be it war, be it peace, we shall endeavour in our ways to express faith and honour; and upon this thought we rest,

Your excellency's most humble servants,
Thos. Preston. Owen O'Neale.

From our camp,
Nov. 2, 1646.

Propositions

Propositions from the council of the confederate catholicks of the kingdom of Ireland, offered to the lord marquis of Ormond's excellency, his majesty's lieutenant, for and in the behalf of the confederate Roman catholicks of the said kingdom, signed by the general of Leinster and Ulster, at their camp, the 2d of November, 1746.

FIRST proposition. That the exercise of the Roman catholick religion be in Dublin, Drogheda, and in all the kingdom of Ireland, as free and publick, as it is now in Paris in France, or Brussels in the Low-Countries.

2. THAT the council of state, called ordinarily the council table, be of members true and faithful to his Majesty, and such of which there may be no fear or suspicion to go to the parliament party.

3. THAT Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Newry, Catherlough, Carlingford, and all the garrisons within the protestant quarters, be garrisoned by the confederate catholicks, to maintain and keep the said cities and places, for the use of our sovereign lord king Charles, and his lawful successors, and for the defence of the said kingdom of Ireland.

4. THAT the present council of the confederates shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain, for the use of his majesty and his lawful successors, and for the defence of the said

kingdom

kingdom of Ireland, the above cities of Dublin and Drogheda, and all other forts, places, and castles, as above.

5. That the said council, and all generals, officers, and soldiers whatsoever, do swear and protest to fight by sea and by land, against the parliamentaries, and all the king's enemies; and that they will never come to any convention, agreement, or articles, with the said parliamentaries, or any other the king's enemies, to the prejudice of his Majesty's rights, or of this kingdom of Ireland.

6. That according to our oath of association, we will, to the best of our power and cunning, defend the fundamental laws of this kingdom, the king's rights, and the lives and fortunes of the subject.

His excellency is prayed to make answer to the above propositions, at furthest, by two of the clock in the afternoon on Thursday.

Tho. Preston. Owen O'Neale.

Although this letter, and those propositions, appeared to the marquis of Ormond, rather as evident tokens of the nuncio, and his parties confidence to find no difficulty in carrying the town, than as a means proposed to avoid the spilling of blood, and that thereby it seemed to him, they rather insulted over his necessitous condition, than that they affected the ways of peace; yet, without taking notice of so magisterial

gisterial a letter, and without touching upon the propositions, which he judged to be no way reasonable, he returned them an answer, which puzzled them more than his resentment thereof in the most feeling expressions would have done.

For general Thomas Preston, and general Owen O'Neale.

AFTER our hearty commendations, we received your letter of the second of this month, with propositions therein inclosed, which propositions are entitled thus, *viz.* "Propositions from the council of the confederate catholicks of the kingdom of Ireland, offered to the lord marquiss of Ormond's excellency, his majesty's lieutenant, for and in behalf of the confederate Roman catholicks of the said kingdom, signed by the generals of Leinster and Ulster, at their camp, the second day of November, 1646." To which propositions you desire our answer at furthest by two of the clock in the afternoon on Thursday next; upon consideration whereof, we find it necessary to understand from you, before we return you answer to the said propositions, who are of the council of the confederate catholicks from whom those propositions are offered to us, by what authority the said council is established, and what commission you have from them to offer the said propositions; in which particulars, when we shall be satisfied, we shall return an answer to the said

ſaid propoſitions, and ſo we bid you farewel. From his majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin, this 4th day of November, 1646.

Your loving friend,

ORMOND.

THESE queſtions were too knotty to be reſolved on the ſudden, and therefore, as is the cuſtom in ſuch caſes, they were not anſwered: however, the marquiſs of Ormond obſerving the approach of a ſtorm, and well knowing the weakeſt part of the veſſel he was to govern, by which, if not prevented, preſent and unavoidable ruin could not but have entered, conſulted with the lord Digby his majeſty's principal ſecretary, how a ſupply of ammunition might ſuddenly be procured, there being not at that time fourteen barrels of powder in the ſtore; and it having been reſolved, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to treat with the two houſes of parliament in England, a parliament captain, then in the bay of Dublin, furniſhed him with thirty barrels. Although this, of all the flaws in the lord lieutenant's neceſſitous condition, was the wideſt and moſt fatal, yet more and more were daily made, that lay open to his deſtruction: for beſides threats from abroad, and the terror with thoſe two armies advanced too near the city, wrought in the minds of many, he was not free from fears at home: for the much greater part of the citizens being Roman catholicks, he was in doubt

doubt how they would behave themſelves, in caſe a general aſſault were given by ſo numerous a force, fighting under the title of ſo ſpecious a cauſe, and under the authority of ſo extraordinary a miniſter of the ſee apoſtolick. Wherefore, becauſe he might certainly know what he had to truſt to, and how far the catholicks made it a matter of conſcience to reſiſt the nuncio, he ſent for the prieſts and religious men then in the town.

Queſtions propoſed to the perſons undernamed, and to each of them, to which they are required to declare their opinions in writing under their hands.

1. If the pope's nuncio, and the reſt of the catholick clergy, in a ſynod or congregation, ſhould excommunicate thoſe that adhere to the peace lately concluded, whether ſuch an excommunication be in itſelf void, or ſufficiently grounded upon the doctrine of the Roman catholick church?

2. Whether, if there ſhould come a command from the ſaid nuncio and Roman catholick clergy to them, forbidding them to exerciſe their prieſtly function to any adhering to the ſaid peace, or to his majeſty's government eſtabliſhed here, do they hold themſelves obliged to give obedience thereunto?

3. In caſe this city ſhall be beſieged, or aſſaulted by the advice, conſent, direction, or command

command of the ſaid nuncio and clergy, or either or both of them, whether, in ſuch caſe, are the Roman catholicks of this kingdom obliged in conſcience to reſiſt any ſuch ſiege or aſſault, with the peril of their lives and fortunes, or not?

In obedience to the above commands of his excellency and council, we, the undernamed, with all humility, anſwer to the above queſtions as followeth.

To the firſt, we anſwer, That to reſolve whether any excommunication be in itſelf void, or ſufficiently grounded upon the doctrine of the Roman catholick church, the reſolvers muſt be truly informed, not only of the power and juriſdiction of the party that doth excommunicate, but alſo of the grounds and cauſes for which the excommunication is inflicted, and alſo of the tenour and form of the ſaid excommunication. In regard, therefore, that we are not privy to theſe cauſes, which the nuncio and the clergy may have, or pretend, for inflicting ſuch an excommunication, nor find in the queſtion propoſed any other than the bare adhering to the peace lately concluded; as we cannot deliver our reſolution in general and abſolutely, without knowing the full grounds of ſuch an excommunication, ſo we conceive and hold for void, and in no wiſe grounded upon the doctrine of the catholick church, any excommunication that hath no other ground than the adhering to the peace

lately

lately concluded, or to any other point of true and cordial loyalty to our gracious sovereign king Charles.

To the second we answer, That our jurisdiction ecclesiastical being subordinate to, and derived from our superiors in the doctrine of the catholick Roman church, whensoever they shall withdraw the influence of their jurisdiction from us, our jurisdiction quite ceaseth, whether we will or no; and therefore, how just soever we may consider the adherence to this peace, or to his majesty's government established here to be, if they take from us the jurisdiction which we have no otherwise than from them, over the persons subject to their higher jurisdiction, adhering to the peace and government aforesaid, whatsoever we shall attempt in such function, will be void and of no effect. And that no occasion be conceived by the nuncio or clergy, as given by us to withdraw this jurisdiction from us, to the great disturbance of his majesty's Roman catholick subjects adhering to the peace and government aforesaid, we humbly desire this may be accepted as answer to the second proposition.

To the third we answer, That as we really in our hearts and consciences hold our sovereign lord king Charles to be the true and lawful king of this city, and the kingdom of Ireland, and all other his majesty's dominions, so we do conceive that the Roman catholicks of this kingdom, in case of siege or assault made or intended for the taking of this city from our said sovereign the king,

king, or any deriving lawful authority from him, and holding it for him, are obliged in conscience to resist with the peril of their lives and fortunes. This being our answer, we thereunto put our hands.

F. Marcus Rochford. Fr. Petrus Darcy. Thomas Quin. Adrian Carden. William Browne. Rd. Oburne. Father Jacobus Fleming. Fr. Gregorius Lawles.

The lord lieutenant having after this manner assured himself of the good affections of the catholick inhabitants against that enemy which blocked up the city by land, was at the same time to encounter with a danger from sea, whereof the apprehension was no less frightful to him; for now the commissioners from both houses of parliament, with supplies of men, money, and victuals, were arrived, full of hope, either by the weight of the many necessities upon him, to make him stoop to any condition they would propose, or to induce the soldier, upon consideration of the present relief he was to receive in his extreme wants, to mutiny, and assist the city, which they might well imagine to be disposed to accept the free traffick, from which they were long debarred; and the ease of taxes, with which they were daily burthened in a general revolt. But I should deprive posterity of a very memorable example of loyalty of the city of Dublin to a king, and affection to a governor, if I should

 omit

omit to let them know, that although the peoples condition for food was not very far from ſtarving, and that the city for want of traffick, and by exceſs of unavoidable payments, was reduced to extremity, though plenty was at their gates, and that it was probable they might enjoy it for a long time under the command of the parliament, though they had among them ſome, and of good quality, that whiſpered unto them the benefit and the advantages they might receive by changing maſters; yet there was not the leaſt noiſe in the town, or murmur among the ſoldiers; and the lord lieutenant and their officers, found, at no time, more willingneſs in them to execute his commands.

The commiſſioners from the parliament having been very civilly received, did, in purſuance of the ample commiſſion given them to remove all difficulties that ſhould occur in the agitation of an affair their maſters had taken to heart, and meant to compaſs at any rate, ſatisfy, without much heſitation, all demands, and ſoon brought it to that, as there remained nothing but to perfect the articles, when the marquis of Ormond having deſired to receive from them his majeſty's authority for delivering to their hands the places under his command, and they being able to produce no warrant of that kind, nay wondering it ſhould be expected from them, brake off the treaty; and although he endeavoured to let them ſee the juſtice of his proceedings, and the unreaſonableneſs of their de-

ſires,

ſires, who, becauſe his majeſty had given authority to his two houſes of parliament, to proſecute the war of Ireland, would therefore have him, to whoſe truſt, by particular commiſſion, thoſe places, together with the government of the kingdom, was committed, to ſurrender them, and relinquiſh his charge without immediate order from the king; yet they, with their ſupplies of men, monies and proviſions, without leaving any part of the ſuccours they brought behind them, returned ſufficiently exaſperated againſt him.

In this mean time, while the treaty with the parliament commiſſioners was yet on foot, ſome overtures were made to the marquis of Clanrickard, in the behalf of general Preſton, and the officers of the Leinſter army; and many reaſons may be thought to have concurred both to the firſt motion, and the ſpeedy concluſion of that treaty: firſt, that party had at all times a propenſion to a ſettlement in the kingdom, for as the men of fortune among them, and their kindred and friends, eſpecially thoſe who lived in the neighbour counties to Dublin, obſerving how little hope there was for them, while the leaſt ſpark of the war, managed by the king's party, remained unextinguiſhed in Ireland, to recover their eſtates, there being nothing more evident, than that the head city of the kingdom, and the place where the chief governor and ſtate did reſide, however the garriſons might be neglected, would always be

furnished with such forces as might debar them from sitting down with quiet in their former possessions. Another reason might be, that the armies daily decreased in number, the northern especially, which soon grew so thin, as the general gave order to those that remained to draw off, and follow himself. The nuncio likewise, and the council and congregation, when the party, wherein they most confided, was vanished, came off dispersedly, and made a hasty, and no very orderly retreat, being pursued by their own apprehensions of danger, which alarmed them sufficiently. A further reason of the speedy conclusion of the treaty with the marquis of Clanrickard, might be the arrival of the parliament commissioners, and the fear perhaps, they were in that their case would become desperate, if the marquis of Ormond should once be engaged to them. But whatsoever the motives were, the accord was soon made to the satisfaction of both parties; and as on the one side the marquis of Clanrickard in his engagement to them, cleared many scruples which they entertained concerning the late peace, so general Preston and his officers on the other, obliged themselves, by such sacred protestations and ties of honour, as merited to have been kept more inviolable, and to have lasted longer, to submit and conform themselves entirely and sincerely to the late peace, and to yield entire obedience to his majesty, and to his lieutenant general, and general governor.

AFTER

After the conclusion of this agreement, the marquis of Ormond, by reason of his indisposition, being not able to come to Palmerstown, where general Preston having drawn up his army in order, attended him according to his appointment, he marched from thence to the Naas, to refresh his men, that suffered much for some days before; and here he received a letter from the lord lieutenant, excusing himself, that he was compelled to disappoint him of the interview prefixed between them, and sets down a day, whereon he would not fail to have himself, by one means or other, conveyed to Castlederrmot, where Preston's army was quartered.

In the mean time, general Owen O'Neale having rallied part of his forces, was advanced to encourage and countenance the council and congregation, who now were gathered to Kilkenny, resolved to prosecute their design of rejecting the peace, notwithstanding their ill success in the late enterprize upon Dublin, which was an action no otherwise memorable, than for the vast expectation with which it was entered upon; and because a minister of the see apostolick at the same time executed the prime jurisdiction in the civil magistracy, and gave orders to the armies of the confederates to whom he was sent as nuncio, and all by authority assumed without their consent.

Upon notice brought to general Preston of the march of the Ulster army, he sent a letter immediately to the marquis of Clanrickard, desir-

ing that credit ſhould be given to what his nephew Bagnall had written in cypher that day, which was the tenth of December, to the lord lieutenant, the ſubſtance whereof was, that general Preſton was then on his march to encounter the van of the northern army, and to deſire the lord lieutenant to march thitherward on ſight, upon which advertiſement he advanced immediately with a party drawn out of the garriſon of Dublin to Grangbegg, a place not far diſtant from that where by appointment he was to join with general Preſton. Here he met with a letter written to the marquis of Clanrickard, by general Preſton, to this effect; "That his "officers, not being excommunication proof, "were fallen from him to the nuncio's party, "and therefore he adviſed him to proceed no "further, but to expect the iſſue of a general "aſſembly that was to be at Kilkenny on the "tenth of January following, where he doubted "not but things would be ſet right by the con-"ſent of the whole kingdom, which would be "much more for his majeſty's ſervice, than to "attempt the forcing of a peace upon thoſe "that were averſe to it." Although the marquis of Ormond was little ſatisfied with that diſappointment, and feared the power the clergy had to fruſtrate a peace concluded by virtue of the beſt authority the confederates could delegate, would rather increaſe than diminiſh by the time that was given them to work in; and though he could not apprehend how it would be

poſſible

possible for him in the mean time to maintain his army, or when it should come to want to keep off the cry that would be raised by all sorts of people, for a new address to the parliament; yet he resolved, through all difficulties and hazards, to expect the result of the assembly. In the mean time, no art, no industry, no solicitation of friends, no terror of the sad condition of those that incur the censures of the church, no promises of putting the fort of Duncannon, whereof he had long desired the government, into the hands of general Preston, were omitted, to cause him to retract his solemn engagement, which he at length was won to do in a publick instrument; in which transaction, made with a person by nature easy and flexible, and tenderly scrupulous, an ecclesiastical person now living, in whom general Preston reposed great confidence, is said to have served the nuncio usefully. But whether the little satisfaction he received from the nuncio, and the then government, in his pretension to the fort of Duncannon, notwithstanding their promises, or that upon more mature reflection, he judged those obligations of honour and conscience which he had contracted, a pledge too dear to be forfeited by the importunity of friends and resolutions of divines, who were concerned in the matter, occasioned it, I do not know; but certain it is, that in his letter of the nineteenth of December, and in another of the fifteenth of January, written in answer to that

by which the lord lieutenant takes notice of his printed declaration, he endeavours to render his intentions innocent, and his actions such, as may put him in a condition more capable to study the settlement of the kingdom. But leaving the lord lieutenant struggling with his necessities, and the people in general full of thoughts, expecting with impatience what the issue would be of the assembly then convened, we must a while entertain the reader with the condition of the prisoners in the castle of Kilkenny, and the actions of the council and congregation after their return from the siege of Dublin.

Among the many examples of popular inconstancy, the various passions with which the very multitude was affected towards those prisoners, may well be mentioned. At first, when they were restrained of their liberty, and fallen from that estate, wherein, while they were established, no veneration was thought too great, or observance too submiss for them. But when the northern army was at their gates, and the nuncio among them, they wanted words to express the nature of their transcendent crimes; perfidy and treachery was their ordinary charge, and it was an unheard of wickedness to endeavour to introduce a peace, which the pope's minister did oppugn; and because they were well-assured it would be taken for no offence in them to extend their zeal as far as wishing the execution of men who must be thought criminal if they would

would justify the innocency of their new masters, they began to admire the lenity with which the council and congregation proceeded against the prisoners, and then to speak how acceptable a sight their heads would be on the market-cross. But when the Ulster army was marched off, and the nuncio with his council and congregation had left their town, though they durst say nothing in favour of the prisoners, not knowing what success their enterprize upon Dublin might have, which if the nuncio had carried, it then had in earnest gone hard with them; yet the fervour of their zeal was calmed, and they grew merciful: but when they heard that the armies were risen from Dublin, and saw the nuncio enter the city very *incognito*, in his single litter, without guards or attendance, and the council and congregation drop in one after another without pomp or ceremony, the flood was turned, and nothing then could be paralleled with the injustice done to those innocent prisoners, who had exactly performed the trust given them by the nation, and prudently endeavoured to rescue the kingdom from the calamities of war, under whose government they lived happily, and whose care had prevented those fatal dissentions now ready to spring up amongst them. From discourses of this kind, they proceeded to speak of having them restored to liberty by one means or other, and making use of force to attain their ends, nor was it the multitude alone that expressed themselves after this manner,

manner, many men of quality now began to resent their usage, and shew themselves concerned in procuring their liberty.; wherefore the council and congregation not seeing to what purpose it was to continue them longer under restraint, since now men had fixed their eyes upon themselves as the chief magistrate, apprehending how much a popular commotion might shake their new and no better grounded authority, released them upon their engagement, not to act any thing in favour of the rejected peace, until the next assembly; and thus those prisoners, whom the council and congregation not long before meant to disperse, they were so criminal, into several, and some to the remotest parts of the kingdom, and signed warrants to have them conveyed thither from sheriff to sheriff, were set at liberty with far less ceremony than they were committed.

This being done, the council and congregation, whose concernment it was to have it believed, that the people were generally ill-satisfied with the peace, and that none of those broils, and bad success which accompanied their attempts, were to be ascribed to them, who by arms and ecclesiastical censures did nothing, but labour to oppose that peace to be inforced upon the nation, which they themselves did prescribe, made it their study to prepare the ways for rejecting it in the next assembly, wherein the bishops in their respective dioceses, as being equally interested, and generally all the clergy

clergy did powerfully co-operate with them, oaths were framed and administered in many parts of the kingdom for rejecting the peace, and there were not a few returned as members in that assembly, who must have been distracted in their conscience between a compulsory oath, and the discharge of so high a trust as was committed to them by the county or corporation that returned them; and thus men were debarred the liberty of voting freely, contrary to the nature of such solemn meetings. Penitents likewise, that would not condescend to reject the peace, were denied absolution; and to perfect the work, parties of the Ulster army, as a smart compulsory, exacted from the people a conformity to the will of the clergy: and for a further mark of the abundance of precaution observed in the matter, the vacant places in the Ulster returns, which was not usual, were all filled with men drawn out of the Creaghts, planted by general Owen O'Neale, in the large and fruitful territory of Leix, which (as we have formerly mentioned) he seized on in his march to Dublin, nay with such an overcharge of supernumeraries, as for some boroughs, three have been returned and actually voted. The day so much expected of the assemblies meeting being now come, the concourse was greater than usual, and more appeared at the first entrance, than were wont to do in some weeks of former assemblies; and though many offers were made to purge the house, yet that grew so tedious

tedious by the length of contests, as men falling insensibly to the work for which they were convened, the substance of the matter was pursued with so much heat and earnestness, that all formalities, how necessary soever, were quite omitted.

After some days respite given the house to settle, when now the nuncio had understood that the assembly began to enter into the discussion of the principal business, he desired audience, and was received with all the shews of respect and observance formerly paid him. When he was placed in the seat prepared for him, he began to set forth the miseries whereunto the kingdom was ready to fall by the acceptance of a pernicious and insecure peace, if by the timely care of the prelates convened by his appointment at Waterford, then had not been prevented. He put them in mind of the great hopes conceived at Rome of their heroical actions, and the affliction it would be to his holiness to understand that any consideration should prevail more with them than the propagation of the catholick religion. He told them that he was forced to put his hand to the government of their affairs in so rough times as lately intervened, and finding themselves now happily met, he there did abdicate his late assumed magistracy, and would contend in his prayers for a blessing from God upon their consultations and actions, which to be successful must tend to the

conservation

conſervation of union among themſelves, and the entire rejecting of that unhappy peace.

THE nuncio having ſpoken much to this ſenſe, and concluded his dictatorſhip after the Roman manner, retired to his palace, leaving the houſe to gnaw the bone he and the congregation at Waterford had caſt among them, which they failed not to do ſometimes in a grave and ſober way of arguing the matter, at other times with wild and clamorous diſputations, and now again with ſuch a horrid confuſion of outcries, into I I, No no, as vexed the ſouls of ſome compoſed men, who had been witneſſes in former ſittings of their grave deportment; for although we cannot ſay but the houſe in her beſt times, and moſt orderly diſceptations, fell into heats, and was loud in her I's and No's; yet now it was grown clean another thing. The biſhop of Leighlin, who always ſat upon an eminent bench at the upper end of the houſe, could, with waving his hat, raiſe ſuch a ſtorm from the middle ſeats, and towards the door, that nothing could be heard for a long time after, but the repeated thunder of I, or No, or that name which he firſt dictated to them. In former times, the leſs-knowing burgeſs either held his peace, or ſought to apprehend ſome colour of reaſon, wherefore he ſhould appear more of the one ſide than the other; but now thoſe men, as a ſet of organ-pipes, as ſenſeleſs and louder, depended for their ſqueaking, or being ſtill on the hand of another. But what was to

be

be gathered when the houſe was quiet, concerning the matter, from the diſcourſe of the more moderate men, in brief was this. The rejecters of the peace inſiſted upon the abject and inſecure condition, to which, after ſuch profuſion of treaſure and blood, catholick religion was reduced by that peace, the ſplendour of it being not provided for in ſuch meaſure and manner, as would either acquire honour for the nation abroad, or ſatisfy the prelates at home, who by their decrees had determined, that the confederate catholicks had failed in performing the obligation upon them by their aſſociation. To this it was anſwered, that if without conſidering the inequality of their condition, they ſhould expoſe themſelves to be overthrown by a more powerful enemy, they would not only forfeit the opinion of valour, but of prudence with ſtrangers; and that notwithſtanding any thing the prelates had determined, that certainly the nation by their repreſentatives there met, were the only competent judges of war and peace, and the grounds of either of them.

But for a more particular anſwer, the aſſertors of the peace alledged, that they could not deny, but the condition wherein they had eſtabliſhed catholick religion by this peace, came far ſhort of that ſplendor in which it flouriſhed for the ſpace of years, from the converſion of the nation, to the 20th year of the reign of Henry the eighth, but that it muſt likewiſe be granted them, that they had even by the literal

ſenſe

ſenſe of thoſe articles ſecured the liberty and free exerciſe of it more firmly, and more for the benefit of the natives profeſſing it, than had been done ſince the ſuppreſſion; moreover they had procured a clauſe to be inſerted therein, relating to his majeſty's further conceſſions, under which title they might claim the benefit of the articles concluded with the earl of Glemorgan.

It was further urged, that to preſs the king to ſo ſolemn and publick a grant of thoſe things which would loſe him his party in England, in caſe they could be obtained, ſeemed not convenient, ſince thoſe very conceſſions now given them muſt ſtand or fall according to the power whereof he would be maſter; and Mr. Richard Bellings, whom they had employed to Rome but the year before, alledged, that pope Innocent the tenth, had already, by way of anticipation, given judgment in the caſe, and authorized ſuch their prudent and wary proceedings, and thereupon preſented a paper wherein was contained the ſubſtance of his negotiation with the pope, and what paſſed at his ſeveral audiences; among the reſt, it was there ſet down, that the pope aſked him how the queen was inclined towards the confederates, who anſwered, that for aught he could diſcover, ſhe wiſhed them well; whereunto he replied, that is well, and that it was no wonder your king ſhould not think it ſafe for him to grant the conditions publickly, which we demanded, leſt he ſhould

loſe

lose his party in England, you might make use of his connivance; and what made the truth of this assertion unquestionable was, that father Luke Wadding, a reverend learned religious man, of the order of St. Francis, one whose merits had gained him a great esteem in the court of Rome, and one who was a person whom the council thought worthy, and by their letters recommended to be a cardinal, being present with him at those audiences, had, in his own hand, set down the year and the day of the month which he omitted, and written other things in the margin of that memorial, which in the judgment of many of the prelates then present, who were acquainted with his hand, freed it from the suspicion of an argument invented to justify a bad cause. But to this an answer was given by one of the bishops, that it might well be reputed a vain curiosity in them to endeavour to inform themselves of his holiness's desires by any other means, than by his nuncio, or seek the interpretation of his meaning from any other than his minister.

The assertors of the peace judging that doubtless, if the house could be persuaded that the necessities of the kingdom were so great as the prosecution of the war must have been the irreparable ruin of it, they would as rational men descend to calmer thoughts, dwelt in their discourse on each particular that related to the war; and first, concerning the sinews of it, they made it manifest, that although the taxes were

so

so great, as much land lay waste in the parts of the kingdom remotest from the enemies incursions, and many families had fled to find ease in their quarters; yet they might observe, that without the assistance sent from the pope, they would not have been able this last summer to face the enemy in the other three provinces, notwithstanding that their cessation of acts of hostility with the lord lieutenant had given them leisure to make the rest the sole object of their actions; and they might likewise consider, that even those succours joined to the contributions raised out of their quarters, being not able to keep their armies longer than three months in the field, they were compelled to retire in a season of the year more proper for them to advance, and to leave prosecuting the enemy in Ulster, over whom they had gained a memorable advantage at the battle of Binborbe; they shewed them how slenderly their magazines were furnished either with arms or ammunition, their inconsiderable forces at sea, consisting only of 12 or 13, the most of them small frigates, and those in the hands of adventurers, who served by their commission, but not one vessel particularly belonging to the confederates; to this they added the growing power of the parliament, which being in a fair way to remove all impediments at home, would quickly overcome this kingdom of Ireland, their vast stock of money which would be readily increased upon the noise of an expedition against the Irish, their num-

bers of men which they might pour over to assist those, who while the parliament was engaged in their greater work had of themselves maintained the many towns and sea-ports, together with those large territories which they possessed in the kingdom. They represented likewise the unmatchable strength of the English navy, and in a word nothing was omitted that might set forth truly the inequality of the conflicts between the concurrents: and they concluded, that there were no means under heaven to prevent that imminent danger, but to embrace the peace, and to employ all their endeavours in re-inforcing the king's now-fainting party in England, so as to divert the storm which immediately was to fall on themselves. To this, and what more was abundantly spoken touching the ones wants and weakness, and the others affluence and power, there was a miraculous answer given by the same bishop of Laughlin, who citing that text of Scripture, when Christ raised Lazarus from the dead, *removete lapidem*, wished them to observe, that when our Saviour came to perform that stupendous work, he gave his disciples no other share in it, than of removing the stone; so, said he, perform you that which is within your power, remove the stone, reject the peace, proceed on vigorously, and God will do the rest. This was the reply given to the premeditated and prudent discourses of many gentlemen, who thought the weight of the subject deserved more particular satisfaction to the

arguments

arguments concerning it, and those sacred words a more rational interpretation; yet you must not wonder if it was cried up, since he spoke it, who might command applause with waving his hat.

The assertors of the peace added to this argument of the streights to which they were reduced, and the necessities upon them; the advice of the French king given in pursuance of a particular letter of credence by his resident monsieur de Molms, who was at Dublin, to facilitate the conclusion of it, and had signed, as witness to the articles. But the arrival of Mr. Geoffry Barron just at this time, who was resident for the confederates in the court of France, happened very opportunely for advancing their designs, to whom no wood came amiss to make arrows to shoot at the peace; for he having first applied himself to the nuncio, and some of the late council and congregation, I say late council and congregation, because, that upon the meeting of a general assembly, the authority of chief magistrate delegated to particular persons did always cease, and coming soon after to the assembly, as a member to the house, the letter of the king of France, given him when he took his leave at court the 26th of September 1646, was read, and in pursuance to those civil expressions which are usually inserted in the letters given to residents upon their recess, *viz.* "And by reason he is well informed of our inclinations, and that he hath good knowledge of

the desire we have to shew, in effect, our affections, we do remit unto his relation what he hath in charge to tell you in our names;" he, as if absolute credentials were given him, declared, by virtue thereof, that the peace they had concluded, was disliked in the court of France, and notwithstanding that monsieur de Molms, who was then in town, publickly, and with great resentment of the injustice done his master, did avow the contrary; yet those very men, who thought not fit to give ear to the pope's own words delivered by Mr. Bellings, and only extended their belief to what his minister spoke in his name, now by a strange change in their opinion would have entire credit to be given to Mr. Barron's relation, grounded on a civil ceremony, expressed in a letter of so old a date, and the protestation of the French king's resident, that his master was well pleased, and recommended to them the transaction of it, to be laid aside, as meriting no belief.

But nothing can be a greater argument of the passion with which this peace was sought to be rejected, than that to which I have been myself always a stranger, until upon search of the papers by which I hoped to be assisted in composing this history, I lighted upon a letter, which makes it manifest there was some contrivance in the matter, and that Mr. Barron, who was noted for his particular zeal for the nuncio and his ways, submitted his judgment to those to whom he made his first application, and was won, though

though otherwise he shewed himself an upright and disinterested man in the cause of his country, to think any thing justifiable which might be acted or spoken in decrying a peace already condemned by ecclesiastical censures, and which was so accursed, as those that did defend, adhere, or approve the justice of it, were delivered over to Satan; for after the publick papers, which upon my imprisonment were by order of the council and congregation taken out of my custody *, had again been restored to me, I chanced to find among the foreign letters received during that interval, which were joined to the rest, a letter from cardinal Mazarine, prime minister to the French king, sent by Mr. Barron, and dated the 23d of December, when now the proceedings of the nuncio in rejecting the peace were perfectly known, the copy of which letter, translated into English, I have here inserted.

SIRS,

I Accompany Mr. Barron, who returns to you with those lines, to witness the satisfaction he hath left here of his conduct, and to reiterate the extreme passion I have for your interests, and for the good of your affairs, you will know from him that little I have done to give you some testimony thereof, and the desire he hath

* He speaks of the Trust, as Secretary.

found in me, that the present state of affairs did permit me to procure you assistances to your wish, wherein God knows if I would not employ myself with all my heart; and although I have at large discoursed with the said Mr. Barron thereupon, who I am sure will render you a very faithful account; nevertheless, I cannot forbear to tell you again, that you cannot employ a more efficacious means to excite France to assist you powerfully, than to contribute all that depends of you towards the re-establishing of the king of Great Britain; and I beseech you believe, that what you do therein will be a very useful means for me to dispose their majesties to advance what concerns the good of that kingdom. In what is further to be related, I refer me to what Mr. Barron shall say, and remain, from Paris, the 23d of December 1646.

THERE was but one argument to which the rejectors of the peace could not make a shift to form an answer, and that was the publick and solemn direction given by the president of the general assembly met at the castle of Kilkenny, to the council and commissioners, to conclude this very peace, read to them in the same terms, with some little alteration in words, but no way in substance; in case the lord nuncio could not by the first of May after produce the articles of a more advantageous peace, which he said was to be concluded between his holiness and the queen of England, by the ministry of Sir Kenelm Digby. It was frequently and with much earnestness

earneſtneſs preſſed by thoſe who acted in concluding the peace, that it might be inſtanced where they varied from their inſtructions; or what they merited of their country, wherein they had no mean intereſt by their birth, their fortunes, and their friends, that their memory ſhould deſcend to poſterity ſtained with perfidiouſneſs, that they believed few men had ſerved the publick more uſefully, and that they could bear any thing but ignominy. To thoſe and the like expoſtulations, the rejectors of the peace returned commonly elogies of their former merit, and their approbation of their faithfulneſs and diſcreet carriage in their late truſt; but when the inference of ratifying thoſe things ſo diſcreetly and faithfully managed by them, and redeeming the publick faith which naturally followed thereupon, came to be advanced, then the peace itſelf was cried out againſt, and the oaths men had taken in the country to reject it, played their part; for I well remember, that a member from Connaught riſing up in a paſſion, ſaid, he was not come thither to forſwear himſelf, and that moſt of his province had taken an oath to reject it. At length order was given to draw up that declaration, which at once acquitted thoſe that had concluded the peace, as having faithfully and ſincerely carried and demeaned themſelves in the ſaid negotiation, purſuant, and according to the truſt repoſed in them; and yet the ſame peace declared invalid and of no force to all intents and purpoſes. But before

this declaration was ingroſſed, colonel Walter Bagnall, a young man, who to the nobleneſs of his birth, and the plentifulneſs of his fortune, had added a great ſtock of valour, and many excellent parts, took occaſion to ſpeak after this manner.

Colonel Walter Bagnall's ſpeech.

Mr. Plunkett,

WHEN I conſider the weight and importance of the matter now agitated, I do not wonder that we have ſpent ſo many days in the debate of it, for the houſe may then be thought to have ſatisfied her own wiſdom, when all objections are laid open and cleared: but when I obſerved mens reaſons are rather cried down than convinced, and that it is an impetuous ſtorm, not a natural tide, that raiſes the ſea of our paſſions to ſo exorbitant an height, I muſt confeſs, I look upon it as a ſad preſage of the many miſeries (if God prevent them not) which will befal us and our poſterity; for I appeal to the conſciences of all that hear me, if when we were firſt compelled (for compelled we were) for ſafety of our lives and fortunes, and the defence of our religion, and our king's rights, to take up arms, we had then, while yet his majeſty was in power, able to diſpute his cauſe with probability of ſucceſs, with his rebel ſubjects of England, been offered leſs advantageous conceſſions, we had not joyfully accepted them

them with a thankful ſubmiſſion to his gracious pleaſure: and truly I cannot ſee that improvement in our condition, if we ſhall prudently weigh all circumſtances, which ſhould make us now leſs willing to acquieſce. We have plenty of arms you will ſay, which we then wanted; our armies are formed, and our affairs directed by a conſtant way of government; certainly, it cannot be denied, if the compariſon extend no farther than between us and ourſelves, and if we make our inference without having a proſpect upon our enemy, and judging at the ſame time of the change of his condition, the then tumults with the new confederate catholicks, we have manifold advantages, which we then wanted: but when we ſhall conſider, that the party in the parliament of England, which hath vowed the extirpation of our religion, and was then ſeconded but by the confuſed clamours of the multitude at London, hath armies at preſent, and the royal fleet at their command; that they who then were in their Downs, and ſcarce would adventure to hop out of their neſts, do now fly all England over, and that of the two concurrent parties, whoſe conflict gave us reſpite to advance thus far in our work; that party is ready to prevail which threatens our deſtruction: When I ſay we ſhall maturely weigh this change to the better in our enemies, we cannot be ſo partial to ourſelves, as to think our ſtate ſo much improved beyond theirs, that we ſhould now, upon conſideration of that inequality,

reject

reject those conditions which we would chearfully have embraced at first; and it is visibly manifest, that if we should have inclined to such resolutions at a time when our king was in a posture to keep the parliament forces employed, and so to divert this storm from falling upon us, both our own interest, and the dutiful compassion of our sovereign's present condition, ought now, in all reason, to move us, by endeavouring to redeem his majesty from his heavy pressures, to lay everlasting obligations of gratitude upon him, and by assisting his party in England, to lift up a shield for our own defence, which can no otherways be done, than by accepting this peace, concluded and published by authority of the kingdom, and by avoiding those severe punishments which never fail to attend the breach of publick faith. The bitter vengeance which was exacted of the king of Hungary, for breaking, at the instance of cardinal Julian, the pope's legate, that peace which he had newly concluded with Amurath the Great Turk, ought still to be before our eyes, wherein the memorable circumstances make it evident, how that very crime was the object of God's indignation, for Amurath had no sooner lifted up those articles to heaven, saying, Christ, if thou be'est a God, as the Christians do make thee, revenge the violation of thy name, and this perjury: but the young king who before had so far prevailed, as he believed himself in possession of the victory, was instantly repelled, his

his army entirely defeated, himſelf overcharged with his armour, drowned in a moraſs, and his evil counſellor miſerably butchered. But now, Mr. Plunket, I ſhall beg the leave of the houſe to recede from the ordinary cuſtom, and to apply my ſpeech to the prelates. My lords, there was a time, when our anceſtors, at the peril of their fortunes, and with the danger of their perſons, ſheltered ſome of you and your predeceſſors from the ſeverity of the laws. They were no niggardly ſharers with you in your wants; and it cannot be ſaid that the ſplendor of your preſent condition hath added any thing to the ſincere and filial reverence which was then paid you. We their poſterity, have with our blood, and the expence of our ſubſtance, aſſerted this advantage you have over them, and redeemed the exerciſe of your function from the penalties of the law, and your perſons from the perſecution to which they were ſubject. We are upon the brink of a formidable precipice, reach forth your hand to pull us back; your zeal for the houſe of God will be thought no way the leſs fervent, that you preſerve the Iriſh nation; and your judgments will not ſuffer for the attempt, when you give over upon better information. Reſcue us, we beſeech you, from thoſe imminent miſeries that environ us viſibly; grant ſomewhat to the memory of our foreſathers, and to the affection we bear you ourſelves, let this requeſt, find favour with you, made to prevent the violation of publick

faith,

faith, and to keep the devouring ſword from the throats of our wives and our children.

WHAT Mr. Bagnall ſpoke, prevailed to move them to compaſſion, and ſome of the prelates had a feeling ſenſe of his diſcourſe; but their reſolution had caſt roots too deep to be ſhaken, and it was not for the honour of the congregation of Waterford, which for the number and dignity of the prelates convened thither, was the greateſt that had been ſeen in Ireland in many ages, to have retracted what they had ſo maturely determined under the conduct of the archbiſhop of Firmo, the firſt in five hundred years ſent from Rome with the title of extraordinary nuncio, ſo as the order which was now ingroſſed being put to the rack, the peace was rejected by a vote, which notwithſtanding all the induſtry uſed therein, was far from being unanimous in the publick acclamation, and very far from finding a tacit conſent in the minds of men.

THIS great affair being paſſed over after this manner, and the rejecters of the peace obſerving with how great reluctancy that which they had digeſted with all the precautions imaginable was received by the aſſembly, thought it very neceſſary, for juſtification of their proceedings both at home and abroad, to have ſome clauſes of further advantage for catholick religion, added to the oath of aſſociation, without which no confederate catholick was to accept of any peace,

peace, until an aſſembly had otherwiſe determined it. This was believed to have been done to no other end, than to ſhew the world the very great diſtance between the conceſſions of the laſt peace, and the deſires of the confederates, expreſſed after ſo ſolemn a manner, for ſome of the demands in thoſe clauſes were of that nature, as could not rationally be hoped, would be granted by thoſe profeſſing an adverſe religion: however this oath, with the names of all thoſe of the aſſembly, and many other prime men annexed to it, being printed, and ſent to Rome, it filled the city with the magnanimous reſolution of the confederates, and the nuncio and his party were applauded there, as having performed a work univerſally pleaſing to the nation, by thoſe who neither knew the ſtate of the kingdom, nor the circumſtances of the matter: this likewiſe came ſeaſonably to redeem their credit in that court, which they had engaged not long before by their vaſt promiſes of a ſpeedy and certain ſucceſs in their attempt againſt Dublin; and beſides all this, it was apparent, they had laid in it an excellent deſign to ſhelter themſelves from the tongues of men, for who could ſay, how much ſoever they had embroiled the affairs of the nation, that they had not done them acceptable ſervice, when there ſtill remained ſo much to be granted, which they ſwore to obtain before they did accept of a peace?

The peace being once rejected, there was little or no contention concerning the additional

clauſes

clauſes in the oath of aſſociation, for the power of the aſſembly being unlimited, and the time of convening it made certain, ſuch reſtrictions were inſignificant to all purpoſes, other than making a noiſe, in regard, that by the fundamental conſtitutions of the confederacy, the ſupreme council was reſtrained from concluding any peace, or entering upon a new war without the approbation of an aſſembly; however, leſt it might have been conceived, that rather an averſion to the king's government, than a diſſatisfaction in point of conceſſions had induced them to reject the peace, doctor Garret Fennell, and Mr. Geoffry Barron, were employed to the lord lieutenant, with overtures of an accommodation, which tended to the erecting of a bipartite government in the kingdom, independent each of the other, and then the general aſſembly was adjourned, having firſt earneſtly recommended to the ſupreme council, choſen upon their receſs, to proſecute, to a concluſion, the accommodation propoſed by them.

While thoſe things, which took up much time in the debate of them, were agitated in the aſſembly, the lord lieutenant, who by ſeveral perſons of quality among the confederates, that laboured for a ſettlement and a ſubmiſſion to the now rejected peace, was put in hope, that the reſult of the aſſembly would be far different from what it was, drew forth part of thoſe forces gathered into Dublin for the defence of it,

it, as well to eaſe the town, which by reaſon of the late deſtruction of the adjacent quarters, had the market ill ſupplied, as to refreſh his men with that plenty of proviſions, which are uſually made at Chriſtmas in the country. During this time, all acts of hoſtility ſeemed to be laid aſide, and all mens eyes were fixed upon the reſolution to be taken in the aſſembly, concerning the rejecting or aſſerting of the peace, when on a ſudden a party of Owen O'Neal's army, that lay quartered upon the borders of the county of Cavan, fell into the town of Kells, where ſome of the lord lieutenant's horſe were lodged, and there killed the captain and lieutenant of his life-guard, and took ſome other officers priſoners, and ſo alarmed that party who were leſs vigilant, becauſe they preſumed there was no harm intended them, and believed, that ſince it lay under debate, whether the peace ſhould be rejected or no, they ſhould, until that were determined, be in no worſe a condition, nor have greater reaſon to apprehend danger, than when they treated of it, and ſo thought themſelves ſecure under the title of a ceſſation of arms. It is ſcarce credible how much this action did exaſperate the Engliſh; for nothing excites a man's paſſion more, than when he fancies to himſelf a breach of truſt: but after that, the rejection of the peace, by ſuch an order as we have formerly mentioned, was made publick. There were no bounds to be ſet to the horror they conceived

against those proceedings, and many of them did even then express their desires to have Dublin, and all their garrisons given up to the parliament, that so they might have the comfort to see the Irish, said they, chastised for their treachery, and breach of publick faith. While the party, under the lord lieutenant's command, did thus in bitterness of passion inveigh against the confederates, he himself revolved with grief the fruitless success of all his labours, and was afflicted to see, that having overcome all the difficulties which obstructed the conclusion of that peace, which with much industry, and after a long time, he had made acceptable to the English and protestant party, it was rejected by those to whom he intended a singular benefit in it, and from whom he expected an opportune assistance towards the advancement of the service of his master.

To enlarge those sad thoughts, advertisement was sent him by the king's council in Dublin, that the inhabitants there being brought to extreme poverty, flatly refused to contribute towards the support of the army, and to crown his many distresses with the greatest mischief that could befal him, Sir George Hamilton, whom the lord lieutenant employed into Scotland to the king, being stopped by sickness in Dundalk, had understood there, the resolution which the parliament of Scotland and their army had taken to deliver the king to the houses of parliament in England, and was newly returned

turned to him with the ſad aſſurance thereof; wherefore, he was forced to return to Dublin, having firſt made ſome ſucceſsleſs inroads into the county of Cavan, for gaining of cattle. Upon his arrival there, he found that though the city was reduced to extreme miſery by the conſtant payments made to that part of the army which remained in garriſon with them; yet the ſoldier ſuffered very much by the ſcantneſs of his allowance, and that all mouths were open, as well in publiſhing their own condition, as in exclaiming againſt the confederates, who having rejected a peace ſo maturely and ſolemnly concluded and proclaimed, had, by late actions of blood, when they leaſt expected any miſchief from them, manifeſted their averſion to any reconcilement; and when news was brought them, that the aſſembly had voted, that all means ſhould be uſed for an accommodation with them, that incenſed them more, and it was thought ridiculous, it ſhould be once imagined, that they, without any aſſurance how long they were to have the Iriſh their friends, ſhould join to cut the throats of their country-men, that were ſeduced to adhere to the parliament, which, if they might credit ſome letters from England, was ready to compoſe their difference with the king. The names of the nuncio, and his council and congregation, were loaden with all execrations, which the hungry multitude, and the needy and exaſperated ſoldier could invent; where are, ſay they, their oaths taken for

maintenance of the king's rights and prerogatives, that prosecuted his majesty's servants and subjects, and that for no other cause appearing, than for labouring to bring peace to their doors, while others, that are so far from wishing them peace, that they hold the endeavours of those that do, for crimes of a high nature; and that they who do not so much as pretend the king's authority, were left at liberty to waste the country, and to enrich themselves by the spoils and contributions thereof. These, and things of this kind, were the subject of every man's discourse; and the lord lieutenant having consulted all his majesty's council and servants then there, he found that they likewise abhorred any accommodation with the confederates, as their government then stood in the hands of those who were authors of rejecting the peace, and adhered inseparably to the ways of the nuncio, for all of them resolved unanimously, that it was more for his majesty's honour and service, to put Dublin, and all the garrisons that remained in obedience to the king, into the hands of the two houses of the parliament of England, than to suffer them to be taken by the Irish, or to join with them upon such accommodation; and for this result; these were part of the reasons.

First, It was doubted it would give too much advantage to those calumnies that had been cast upon the king, of too much favouring the Roman catholick religion, if all the churches in

in the quarters yielding obedience to his majesty, should be given or suffered to be taken to the use of that religion, and the exercise of the protestant religion either totally suppressed, or at least, but allowed by connivance and in corners, a favour not then afforded to any within the Irish quarters.

SECONDLY, It was feared it might reflect upon the king's honour, if those subjects and servants of his, that had so constantly served him, and continued so to do, after the king had no one place, which held for him in all his three kingdoms, should at last be subjected to those that then ruled among the Irish, from whom what quarter they were to expect was plain (said they) by their breach of faith, by the usage of others of his majesty's party fallen into their hands, and by their having given rest to all places and people holding for the parliament, that they might bend the united strength of their part of the kingdom, against them that only upheld the king's authority, that only had made and kept about three years cessation with them, and that only afforded, nay went a begging to them to their own doors with peace.

A THIRD reason was, upon consideration of the interests of the crown, for this concluded, that if the places they held for the king were put into the hands of the two houses of parliament, they would revert to his majesty, when either by treaty or otherwise he should recover his rights in England, and that, in all probability,

lity, without expence of treasure or blood: but if they were given or lost to the confederates, they took it as granted that they would never be recovered by treaty, his majesty's firm resolution, and their high expectations in points of religion considered, nor by conquest, but after a long and chargeable war, wherein how far they might be assisted by any foreign prince, that would believe his affairs advanced or secured by keeping the king busied at home, fell likewise into consideration. Besides those, among other reasons alledged at this solemn debate, there yet remained two motives that weighed more with the marquis of Ormond than all the rest; the one was his tender regard of the king's person, the other his dutiful obedience to his commands; for he had no sooner understood from Sir George Hamilton, into whose hands his master was shortly to come, but he instantly resolved that he could not with prudence exasperate those who were to have power over him, for since his directions might be conceived to have influence upon each particular action performed by him; as a publick minister, he thought he could not be blamed for abundance of caution and wariness in any thing wherein they were concerned, who had so great a pledge of his good behaviour; yet left his zeal for the king's person should transport him beyond what himself would judge necessary for his service, he informed his majesty how all things stood.

After a resolution was taken upon those grounds, and a dispatch was sent to some of the commissioners formerly employed to treat with the lord lieutenant from the houses of parliament, letting them know, he was now ready to leave Dublin and the other garrisons to them, upon the conditions they had offered, doctor Garret Fennell, and Mr. Barron, of whom we have formerly made mention, came to Dublin, to propose an accommodation, which motion coming so unseasonably, after he was engaged to the parliament, if they accepted his offer, how really soever it was intended, the lord lieutenant understood, as meant by the confederates for no other end, than that they might be able to deny, they had imposed any necessity upon him to agree with the houses of parliament, and that which most confirmed him in the belief of this to have been their design was, that albeit the propositions in themselves seemed to him very exorbitant, yet the persons they had intrusted, and wished him to give credit to, refused to put their overtures in writing, or when in their presence, or by their dictating, he had written them to sign them; and thereupon he inferred, that this was done lest they should have been engaged to a conjunction with him, even upon their own terms: however, finding that the houses of parliament had left him liberty of treating, by some failures on their part, he thought fit to draw from the supreme council of the confederates, an explana-

tion of what was doubtful in those overtures, and to insinuate his willingness to grant them a cessation of arms, so it were demanded of him. Choice was made of Mr. Winter Grant, as the fittest instrument to negotiate this affair, who was then newly arrived with dispatches from the queen of England and prince of Wales, to the lord lieutenant, and some prime men of the confederates, touching the quieting of troubles, and settlement of peace; upon this, the overtures which doctor Fennell and Mr. Barron refused to give in, or attest, as is formerly mentioned, were now owned by the council as proceeding from the assembly, and those tended to the erecting of a bipartite government in the kingdom, and further advantages for catholicks in the protestant quarters, with a church in Dublin, as the council in their explanatory answers, returned to the questions propounded by the marquis of Ormond, did set forth. And albeit, in the overtures made by the confederates, were of that nature, as the protestant party would hardly be induced to condescend to them, yet that which made the accommodation, or any conjuncture of that kind desperate, was an instrument of the tenth of May, sent to the lord lieutenant, wherein the council declared, that they were positive to insist upon the propositions voted in the general assembly, which extended to the restitution of their livings and jurisdiction throughout the kingdom, to the catholick clergy, in as ample manner, as they enjoyed

enjoyed them in the time of Henry the ſeventh. The lord lieutenant having diſcovered by this, how little any compliance in the other particulars would avail him, in his joint reply made to this declaration, their overtures and explanation let them know, that their two firſt propoſitions were ſuch as appeared rather fit to be treated of in a league offenſive and defenſive between neighbouring princes, than between his majeſty's governor of a kingdom, and his ſubjects of the ſame declined from their obedience, with whom it is inconſiſtent with his majeſty's honour, for his lieutenant to join otherwiſe than by their returning to their obedience and ſubmiſſion to his majeſty's authority. And ſo to that declaration of their poſitive reſolution to inſiſt upon thoſe votes of the aſſembly, he returned them anſwer, that they were inconſiſtent with thoſe grounds upon which there could be any hopes of ever ſettling a peace in the kingdom.

Yet, becauſe he would make further trial, whether time and a ſuſpenſion of acts of hoſtility might incline them to milder reſolutions, he authorized Mr Winter Grant to propound and conclude a ceſſation for three weeks with the confederates, ſo as it ſhould be kept ſecret, for he meant to provide, that if the council did not recede from thoſe principles with which he reſolved not to comply, the knowledge of this treaty with them ſhould not interrupt his proceedings with the two houſes of parliament in England; but there was no return made to this

his proposition, and so not only this overture, but all intercourse between the lord lieutenant and the council was put to an end: and he began that treaty with Arthur Annesly, esquire, Sir Robert King, knight, Sir Robert Meredith, knight, colonel John Moore, and colonel Michael Jones, commissioners from the parliament of England, which was concluded and agreed on the 18th of June 1647, in which agreement this was remarkable, that notwithstanding the council pressed the lord lieutenant to demand all the monies laid out upon publick service, and the rents he had been hindered to receive by those under the command of the parliament; yet he refused so to do, and caused those sums only to be audited by Sir James Ware, which he had disbursed for the maintenance of the garrisons of Dublin, Dundalk, Newry, Narrow-water, Green-castle, and Carlingford, whereof he was to receive three thousand pounds to answer his occasions in, and until his transportation and bills of exchange to be accepted by sufficient men in France or Holland, to pay unto him ten thousand eight hundred seventy seven pounds, fourteen shillings and nine pence.

These articles being thus concluded, there intervened an accident, which gave the lord lieutenant respite to look back upon the affairs of Ireland, for those bills before mentioned being so drawn as they were not accepted, and Daniel O'Neal, one of the grooms of the king's bedchamber, having been sent by his uncle, general

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Owen O'Neal, to him with the overture of a ceſſation, which if the lord lieutenant would accept for two months, general Owen O'Neal engaged himſelf to continue it for a year. He accepted of the offer, provided it were concluded within fourteen days; for he conceived that this act of his relating to a failure of the parliament, in a matter which concerned his own particular, could not be imputed to any direction from his maſter, and he was ſatisfied that any mean leading to reduce the Iriſh to their obedience, whereby he might draw aſſiſtance from them, was to be embraced, ſo it were not upon terms that expoſed him to the obloquy of his enemies, which he believed might be eaſily accompliſhed, if he could deprive the nuncio and his party of the countenance and ſupport which they derived from the Ulſter army: but the council, which for the greater part was compoſed of ſuch as adhered to the nuncio in his ways, foreſeeing by like what effect ſuch a ceſſation might produce, reſtrained Mr. O'Neale of his liberty, whom his uncle employed to Clonmell to lay before them, and eſpecially the biſhop of Clogher, ſuch reaſons as might induce them to condeſcend to that ceſſation, and releaſed him not before the fourteen days were expired; ſo as this overture likewiſe becoming ſucceeſsleſs, the parliament commiſſioners met with no great difficulty in compoſing the difference, and then the marquis of Ormond ſailed into England, where he was graciouſly received

ceived by the king, whom, not long after his arrival there, the army took out of the hands of the commiſſioners at Hombay, and intruſted him to treat with the Scotch commiſſioners, who feared the increaſing power of the independent party, as the king foreſaw the miſchief they meant him, notwithſtanding their many profeſſions. In concluding of this treaty, which tended to the joining of the Scots and Iriſh, in upholding the king's intereſts, the marquis of Ormond was as happy, as the elder duke Hamilton was unfortunate, in conducting the deſign to which it related, and now having ſtaid ſix months in England, the parliament becoming jealous of him, breaking his articles, and ſeeking to ſeize on his perſon, he, about the time that the king was made priſoner in the iſle of Wight, eſcaped narrowly into France, where we leave him, to purſue the hiſtory of the affairs of Ireland.

The council, to countenance the earl of Glamorgan, who avowedly adhered to the nuncio in the command of the army of Munſter, which they had conferred upon him, had removed their reſidence to Clonmel, where there repaired to them ſome noblemen, and others of the gentry of Munſter, who having been active inſtruments in rejecting the peace, believed that both their advice for regulating the affairs of that province would be favourably hearkened to, and the pretenſions they had to places of command in the army, then to be new modelled under

under the earl of Glamorgan, would be easily granted; and in truth, as to the distribution of officers, they failed not of their expectation, for this nobleman, who had proposed to himself both to levy a great army, and to oblige many, began at that end of a very difficult work, which was most easy, and making use of the authority the king had given him, which bore date the 6th of January 1644, to raise, levy, or accept of soldiers both of horse and foot, either in or from his kingdom of Ireland, &c. and them, and every part of them to command, arm, govern, and dispose in warlike manner, &c. he gave out so many commissions, as when the times were more composed, and the government came into their hands who were more inclined to the settlement of the kingdom, gave them some trouble to dissolve even this airy structure, and to proportion the officers to the men the province was able to maintain: however, it was believed they might be of use to assist in disposing the affairs of the province in such a manner as might be most for the advantage of their party; I mention a party, because that albeit the assembly, after the rejection of the peace, sought by all ways imaginable to restore that union of hearts which before the ecclesiastical censures, fulminated by the nuncio and congregation at Waterford, was between the confederates; yet those divisions and different affections remained among them.

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THESE officers therefore, and those of their faction, thinking their interest in the army well secured, applied all their industry to strengthen their faction in the civil list, and to remove from among the commissioners general of the army, those men who had expressed themselves forward in concluding the peace, and had any relation to the lord viscount Muskry, whom (although they forbore to publish their apprehensions) they most feared, as being a nobleman whom the province affected very much, and one who had a great influence upon the army, not only as having commanded it successfully the year before, but because most of the old officers in it had a particular esteem for him. This design, which had been long before contrived, was now ready to be executed, and the army drawn near the town to countenance the request which was to be made in their behalf, and in the name of those they called the considerable men in the province, to the council, for displacing those gentlemen, and having them punished according to the heinousness of their crime.

THE lord of Muskry being admonished of the imminent danger under which his innocent friends were to suffer, posted to Clonmel, notwithstanding that some of trust near him sought to hinder his journey, by representing to him the danger to which he did expose his person in a town wherein the nuncio was, who had the place and the council at his devotion, and which then

then was the rendezvous of moſt of the turbulent ſpirits in the province. Upon his arrival, having taken his place at council board (for he was the ſole man of thoſe that oppoſed their ways, whom their faction in the laſt aſſembly had not the power to remove from being intruſted in the government) they acquainted him with the diſtracted ſtate of their affairs, and the clamours of their officers, for juſtice to be adminiſtered againſt the commiſſioners general, and their apprehenſions of tumult and diſorder in the army, and deſired he would aſſiſt them with his advice. To this he anſwered, that the beſt means, in his opinion, to prevent diſorders in the army was, to ſeize on the authors of them, and to direct the general to have them tried by a martial court, but they ſhould beware, how, in adminiſtering juſtice in the caſe of the commiſſioners general, they ſhould recede from the accuſtomed ways of legal proceedings, or introduce any innovation upon the clamours of the army, not knowing where their deſires might end, if they once knew they were able to fright the council into a grant of their requeſt. He had not yet put an end to what he was to ſay, when the council was advertiſed, that the officers of the Munſter army (thoſe were they who were newly inliſted) deſired to be admitted, who being brought in, they, not by the mouth of one of their number, but by turns, and frequently more than one at a time, after a diſcompoſed but haughty manner, as is

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the cuſtom of thoſe who would perſuade ſuch as they make their application unto, that they have power to right themſelves, began to charge the commiſſioners general with having ruined the province, defrauded the army, and enriched themſelves; in fine, with all thoſe crimes which might be objected to men in their employment. Then they deſired, that becauſe they were known to be men that had particular relation to my lord of Muſkry, his lordſhip would pleaſe to withdraw while that matter was in agitation. The lord of Muſkry finding no great reſentment in the council at the nearneſs of that motion, thought it not fit to appear a ſtickler for the honour of the board in his own caſe; and the truth is, being not willing to ſtay any longer, retired immediately, expreſſing no diſlike of the motion, either in his countenance or geſture, and leaving them to contend, who ſhould be moſt bitter in his invectives againſt the commiſſioners general, upon pretence of going to take the air with ſome of his friends, fetched a compaſs about and went to the army. As ſoon as he lighted at the tent of one of his intimate friends, he deſired that two or three more of thoſe in whom he moſt confided ſhould be ſent for, and by them he underſtood, that moſt of the old officers, and the ſoldiers in general, were much unſatisfied, that the earl of Glamorgan was made their general, and that having expreſſed their diſlike ſo publickly as they did, before he was choſen, the old officers

feared,

feared, that the many new men, to whom he had given commiſſions, would nôt only be preferred, when occaſion was offered, before them, but that partaking of his favour in a larger meaſure, they would inſult over them.

The lord of Muſkry having thus far ſatisfied himſelf of their diſpoſition, conſidering that he was to be a good huſband of the little time which probably would be offered him, deſired they would do him the favour to convene all the officers, to whom, when they were met, he imparted to them with what confidence he came to put himſelf among them, and letting them underſtand, that although many ways lay open for him, by which he might procure ſafety for his own perſon, if the nuncio and council (which he yet knew not) had formed any deſign to his prejudice; yet before he made choice of any of them, he thought he could do no leſs in requital of the love they bare him, and the valour and fidelity with which they performed ſome memorable actions under his command, than to come to demand of them, wherein his perſon or ſervice might be uſeful to them at a time when their concernments ſeemed to require the aſſiſtance of their friends; and that he muſt confeſs ingenuouſly to them, that he apprehended the courſe now taken for regulating the army, and overcharging it with ſuch a throng of officers, would not only ruin the country, unneceſſarily, but likewiſe would ſubſtract the payment which the people had hitherto, even with much difficulty,

culty made to themſelves, for it was evident, that the more the hands were to receive the monies which could be levied in the country, the leſs would be each man's ſhare in the diſtribution. That for his part, he underſtood not, wherefore, without firſt looking into the ſtock of the country, or contriving ſome poſſible means to maintain them, titles had been conferred on thoſe new men, unleſs thoſe were now miſtruſted, who at all times had given memorable proofs of their affection to the publick, which he the more doubted to be the cauſe: that at the ſame time, when they endeavour to fill the army with new men, they, without a fair trial and juridical eviction, ſeek, by the countenance of the nuncio, and a council that favours their cauſe, to diſplace, with threats of further proſecution, thoſe commiſſioners general who were of one party with them, and guilty of no other crime than that they favoured them, and adhered to the ſame principles they did; but that he ſaw they might adventure on any thing, who had it in their power to unſheath the ſpiritual ſword when they liſted; and that for his part, he knew not but it would be a crime in him, which might be thought to have merited excommunication, that he had talked ſo freely to them of his fears in their behalf; and he was in doubt, whether the menace of it, for what cauſe ſoever, would not remove them from any reſolution they ſhould take to free themſelves from the danger to which they lay expoſed.

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The officers each of them consulting, but his private thoughts, spoke their affection to him, and their good thoughts of what he said, more unanimously in the confused protestation all of them made, that if he would conduct them, they would live and die with him, than they would have done in a formal and premeditated discourse by the mouth of one chosen among them for that purpose; and as for the excommunication which he mentioned, they with a soldier like liberty spoke of the mischiefs already fallen upon them by those censures, and how little the nuncio should prevail by it, if he came with such engines to batter their resolution. When the lord of Muskry had given his consent to what they proposed, the officers dispersed themselves to their several regiments, and having by beat of drum and sound of trumpet gathered the soldiers, they in brief told them, that my lord of Muskry was in the camp, and that all the officers had resolved to accept of no other general but him, and to live and die with him. To this, answer was made with military acclamations, by casting up of caps, and crying aloud and often repeating the name of Muskry. Thus was the army in the space of one hour without noise, save what witnessed their public satisfaction, placed under his command.

In the mean time those at whose request the lord of Muskry withdrew himself from the council board, being very busy in drawing up a particular charge against the commissioners gene-

ral, news was brought them, that the lord of Muskry was gone to the army, and there with an universal applause, to the great content of all of them, had accepted the offer made him to be their general. This advertisement gave a sudden stop to their proceedings, and they began to be more solicitous of their own safety, than of impeaching others. The nuncio and council likewise that expected not so sudden a turn in their affairs, were very much discomposed; yet it was hoped, that the nuncio, by his presence in the army, might calm their spirits, and bring them back to the obedience which they were to pay to the earl of Glamorgan (who then by chance was absent) as their general, and therefore the day after was appointed for his journey; but he was not come half way, accompanied with some of the council and others, who thought they might have power to recompose the distractions, when those they had sent before to find out how they stood affected, and what hopes there might be to appease the revolt if the nuncio came thither, met them with the sad assurance, that not only the body of the army, but every particular officer, even those whom they had most reason to confide in, were unalterably resolved to be commanded by the lord of Muskry; and that the soldiers were generally so ill satisfied with the ways the council had taken, that although they might perhaps have some reverence to the nuncio if he came among

among them, they were certain they would have none for those that did accompany him.

This advertisement gave a stop to their journey, and they returned to Clonmel perplexed in their thoughts, uncertain and fearful of what the lord of Muskry might further attempt, many of them being conscious to themselves of the bad offices they had done him, and the designs they had against him. But he soon freed them from their apprehensions; for having sent for the commissioners general, who now had more respect paid them, than crimes laid to their charge to execute their employment; he moved with the army to a further distance from them, having performed all he had proposed to himself in that action, which was, first, the freeing of his innocent friends ready to be oppreſt by the calumnies of a faction to which the government was favourable; the next was preserving of the province from the unsupportable charge those supperadded officers must have been to it; and withal the conserving of the old army in a posture fit to do service for the public, by preventing their means to be consumed by a glut of new men, introduced to countenance a faction, whose thoughts, in his opinion, was averse to peace, as their actions seemed to be; lastly, he intended to deprive the earl of Glamorgan of the command of that army, who being a nobleman great in the king's trust and favour, and having authorities from him, that speak evidently how much his majesty confided

in him, was now wholly addicted to the nuncio and his ways, and by such his adhering to them, seemed to justify the actions of the clergy and the party joined with them, in rejecting the peace, as being performed with the king's approbation, whereof there needed no greater argument to convince the judgment of many, than that the earl of Glamorgan had cast himself on that side; and this, in the opinion of the lord of Muskry, would very much contribute to obstruct the settlement of the kingdom at any time; since under so specious a pretext, their power would increase and grow formidable, who he saw bent upon councils of upholding the war, unless they might obtain such conditions, as, considering the times, no man could rationally think would be granted in the manner they were demanded.

The council being now out of hope to reclaim the Munster army, removed their residence back to Kilkenny to attend the affairs of Leinster, where by the change of the government at Dublin, an occasion seemed to be offered them to improve their condition: colonel Jones having but newly the agreement made by the marquis of Ormond with the parliament commissioners, received the charge of an army, which thenceforth was to uphold a different interest from that they formerly fought for, and to encourage the confederates the more to invade the enemies quarters. Their forces, in that province, had not since the beginning of

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the war been more numerous in men, or under the command of better officers; many of them were such, as upon the lords of the pale's disavowing the government, and their adhering to those of Ulster, repaired to them, and being after driven by the English from their habitations in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare, lived by the war, and kept themselves constantly in action, by infesting the English quarters by parties.

After all necessaries were provided for the advance of the army, it was mustered on the Curragh of Kildare, and found to consist of [illegible] commanded by general Preston; their first day's march was to Rosbery, where they lay commodiously and securely encamped. Colonel Jones, who was not ignorant of the preparations made against him, drew forth a party of [illegible] horse and [illegible] foot to the Naas, in hope some occasion might be offered upon their careless sitting down, or their disorderly march, to make some attempt upon them; but the general having marched and encamped on the other side of the river of the Liffey, in a ground naturally fortified, colonel Jones drew back as far as Johnstown, a place distant about a mile from the Naas in his way to Dublin, when suddenly changing his resolution, he the same night returned with his party as far as a bog passable for horse, but by one ford which lay on the further side of the Naas, between Sigginstown and the enemies

camp, hoping he might beat up the enemies quarters, or meet some party, which he conceived the Irish would send out to pursue him, when they understood of his hasty retreat to Dublin; but both those designs were frustrated, the Irish camp being upon the matter inaccessible, and no party being sent in pursuit of him, of whose retreat they had received no intelligence, until the scouts had the next morning informed them, that the enemies horse were drawn up near the bog, of which we have formerly spoken, and that some few of them had advanced as far as the higher ground; whereupon general Preston marched out of the camp with two thousand foot and all the horse, and faced colonel Jones's party that stood firm on the Naas side of the bog, having drawn up his horse to the edge of it, and his foot in an inclosed ground behind them, the difficulty of passing by the ford hindered the Irish from advancing, until the field pieces having been brought from the camp and twice discharged at colonel Jones's body of horse, with the loss but of one man, the foot were commanded to retreat, the horse still keeping their ground; at length they marched off orderly while they were in the sight of the Irish; but having recovered the lane which leads to the Naas, and is thick set with bushes, they hastily and in disorder galloped up to the brow of the bank near the gate of the Naas, where they stood until the foot marched through the town to Johnstown;

ſtown; the Iriſh making no uſe of ſuch their haſty retreat; general Preſton having perſuaded himſelf, but very improbably, that they had manned the houſe of Sigginſtown, and therefore without advancing or ſending ſcouts to diſcover the truth, he ſtood for an hour in a body; at length the Engliſh horſe wheeling about, paſſed beyond the Naas, and to ſecure the retreat of their foot that marched a ſhorter way through the town, they ſtood in the way that leads to Johnſtown, where the Iriſh horſe led by Sir Walter Dungan, ſeconded with five hundred muſqueteers, forced them, and did not advance to the onſet, obeying therein the general's command that had directed the enemy ſhould not be charged without further order. Sir Walter ſeeing ſo great an advantage ready to be loſt for want of orders, ſent, and then came to the general, who all the time ſtood on horſeback in the Naas, but could not prevail to have permiſſion given him to charge the enemy. At length Sir Thomas Eſmond, major general of the army, ſent to let him know, that if this opportunity were omitted, they would hardly be maſters of ſuch another; whereupon he who writ this hiſtory, coming to general Preſton, told him that certainly there was an aſſured advantage offered, otherwiſe Sir Thomas Eſmond who was a quiet ſober officer, had not now again importuned him, and deſired himſelf to go and ſee the poſture of the enemy; whereupon he advanced, but by this time the Engliſh horſe retiring by

little and little, and often facing the enemy, were come to Johnstown, having placed some musqueteers in the castle of the mill on the Naas side near Johnstown; this village is surrounded with bogs, and hath a gate at each end of it, and most of the English horse were already past it, when general Preston directed they should be charged; at the first encounter captain Merediff, that brought up the rear of the English horse, was killed at the ford at the town gate, and some of the Irish horse pressed into the gate with them, and forced them up the hill to the other gate, which colonel Jones, who had drawn up his horse in a body to the left hand of the gate, observing, he sent in a party of horse that beat back the Irish, who being reinforced fought for a long time with various success; at length colonel Jones pouring into the town a greater number, the Irish were clean beaten out of it, which was no sooner done than the whole body of the English horse marched off in a gallop to the hill near Kill, where they faced the enemy, when now the party of the Irish passed Johnstown; here the general made a stand and would pursue them no further. Sir Walter Dungan and major Barnewell, two of his best officers of horse, being wounded, the one in the leg, the other in the shoulder, and there being intelligence (as it was given out) brought, that fresh supplies were coming to colonel Jones from Dublin. Thus by the supine remissness of general Preston, and the valour and good conduct of colonel

colonel Jones, the party under his command retired with no great loſs to Dublin, and the general returning to the Naas, ſent out a party that took in Harriſtown upon quarters. From the Naas the army marched to Trim, and encamped at a mile's diſtance from the town near the river of the Boyne. Some few days before the lord lieutenant left the kingdom, overtures being ſtill on foot in hope to make the forces of the confederates upon their ſubmiſſion to the peace ſerviceable to the king, then in the hands of his enemies; and to that end Mr. Walſhingham, ſecretary to the lord Digby, went to general Preſton as he was forming his army at Munſtereven, before he came to the Curragh of Kildare, where he was cheriſhed and received as an angel of peace, (ſo he wrote in his letter) and diſmiſſed with aſſurance given, that when the army came to Trim the matter ſhould be concluded. This gentleman failed not at the appointment; but coming to Trim he found a reception far different from that he had at Munſtereven, and he read in their countenance, and their ambiguous expreſſions, the change of their reſolution; ſo as upon his return to Dublin, an end was put to their negociation; and although general Preſton had received certain intelligence from a ſure hand, that the Scotch auxiliaries who came to aſſiſt colonel Jones muſt within ten days retire into Ulſter for want of proviſion, and that he was councelled for that time to keep within Portleiſter, where he lay ſecurely encamped;

and

and notwithstanding that the night before he marched from Portleister, it was resolved in a council of war, that the army should not move; yet the bishop of Ferns and Sir Nicholas Plunket who were employed by the council, coming thither and laying before the officers the little hope there was of the army's being supplied with any further means in a long time, and wishing them in the name and direction of those that sent them to undertake somewhat suddenly; they fatally changed their resolution and marched to Dungan's hill*. After this disaster which befel the Leinster army, the council of the confederates fearing that colonel Jones, who fought but for bread and elbow-room about Dublin, would advance to join with the lord of Inchiquin and the Munster forces, posted reiterated commands to general Owen O'Neale, who then was employed in Connaught, to recover what the parliamentaries had gained in that province, to hinder that much apprehended conjunction by a speedy march into Leinster, which he obeyed, and sat down securely encamped at Portleister.

The council moreover reflecting upon the sad state of affairs, and that although they should recede from those high demands which they for a long time insisted upon, as terms for an accommodation, yet they would come too late,

* There is a chasm in the Original, containing a narrative of the defeat of the Irish army, by Jones.

the

the king's authority being withdrawn with the lord of Ormond, employed much industry, since now there were but two parties in the kingdom, the parliament faction, and the confederates, to prevail with the lord of Clanrickard, a catholick and a native, to command the Connaught forces, that so he might assist the bleeding condition the kingdom stood in, which are their own words in their letter of the nineteenth of August, 1647. General Owen O Neale likewise made him the same overture. The provincial council of Connaught, and many more of the clergy and laity, solicited him to the same purpose. But he still adhered to the resolution he had taken to depart the kingdom, and in his answer of the eighteenth of August to general O Neale's letter, he writes thus." As there is not any that doth more sadly lament the miserable condition of this nation, so it hath been foreseen and often declared by me, as that which must inevitably follow, those councils, resolutions, and proceedings that have been undertaken and constantly pursued, contrary to the sense, importunities, and endeavours of those whose interests and affections ought to have been valued before others, that have given such destructive opposition to them."

About this time the lord Digby, now earl of Bristol, who had continued for a long time in Ireland, and with unwearied industry upon all occasions sought to repair the ruins of the rejected peace, and compose the difference, in order

order to the preservation of his great master, and the enabling him to resist his enemies, departed the kingdom, to find a livelihood in France, and Mr. Winter Grant soon after him, leaving the confederates to reap the fruit of those mischiefs which they procured for themselves, and might have been prevented, had the government continued in the hands of those (as it soon after did) who were averse to the rejection of the peace. Thus we see the forces of Connaught distracted, wanting a head, the province of Ulster wholly possessed by those of the parliament faction, and Leinster, by the defeat of Preston's army, exposed to the excursions of colonel Jones, so far as the neighbourhood of general Owen O Neale would permit him.

THE council therefore apprehending no less the advancing of the lord of Inchiquin to join with colonel Jones, and the enclosing of general O'Neale's army between them, intrusted the lord Taafe with the command of the forces of that province, who marching with his army through the county of Limerick, pitched his tents at a place called Kinturk in the county of Cork, and removed from thence to a ground of advantage called Knocknenoss, where, after some debates and contrariety of opinions concerning the fighting the enemy, who marched straight towards them, presently order was given for forming the battle; but upon the enemy's advance that form was changed, so as the right and left wing, by the interposition of a hill,

had

had no sight the one of the other. On the thirteenth of November, 1647, the enemy, who stood in arms all the night before, and was frequently alarmed by troops of horse, moved towards the army of the confederates, and after some smart skirmishes the battle was begun, and the right wing, led by sir Alexander M'Daniel, a gallant gentleman, and a well-experienced officer, routed with much slaughter the enemies horse and foot in their left wing, and possessed the ordnance, and pursued them as far as the gates of Mallow. But the foot of the confederates left wing, after the first charge, wherein they lost not six men, ran hastily to the top of the hill, fearing belike that the right wing, which (as was said) they saw not, was beaten, and intending, though they were the last, yet to overtake the runaways. Here the general, by wounding some, and encouraging others, got them to face the enemy, until spying a troop of horse, that made directly towards them, they flung away their arms, and trusting to their heels, no threats, no persuasion being of power to stop them, notwithstanding that the general and others swore, and swore the truth, that they were of their own party; for colonel David Roche, who that day, and many times before, behaved himself gallantly, charging the horse that pursued the foot, having the horse he rode on killed under him, before he was again mounted, which required no long time, was deserted by the far greater part of those he led, and those

were

were they whom the affrighted foot took to be the enemy. The general, with the same success, put himself at the head of those men, but they staid no longer with him until their horses, that ran up the hill, recovered breath, and crying loudly that they had lost their colonel, chose rather to bemoan him flying, than as generous persons to revenge his death, had he perished, as he did not, and as a more signal mark of their affright, left their general on his toiled and tired horse to shift for himself, there being not ten of the enemy in pursuit of them, for by this time the lord of Inchiquin was in pursuit of the pursuers of his men, and overtaking them, who thought of nothing but victory, put most of them to the sword, among the rest, Sir Alexander M'Daniel, that gallant gentleman, is said to have fallen in cold blood by the hand of an officer, after quarter was given him.

The lord of Inchiquin, after his soldiers had gathered the spoil of the field, led his army into the county of Limerick, and in a very short time brought the whole province of Munster, the cities of Limerick and Waterford, and the towns of Clonmell and Kilmallock, and some other holds garrisoned by the confederates excepted, under contribution. The cathedral church of Cashell in the county of Tipperary, seated on a rock, wherein the townsmen confiding in the strength of the place, had laid up their goods, encouraged the soldier for booty to overcome all difficulties; and being entered, they

they polluted the place with the blood of many of the clergy and moſt of the defendants. From thence the lord of Inchiquin marched into the county of Kilkenny, and took Callen, after ſome reſiſtance made by the caſtle, made ſome baronies in that county contributary, and a party of his horſe advanced within muſket ſhot of the walls of Kilkenny.

This is the ſeries of thoſe calamities which interruptedly fell upon the confederates after the rejection of the peace, and to this ſad condition they were reduced, when an unexpected mean was offered for eaſe of their preſſures, whereof nevertheleſs, they envied themſelves the entire benefit of the different judgments they made upon it, and the diviſions and animoſities which were produced by it, as we ſhall find hereafter.

The end of the Third Book of the War of Ireland.

A JOURNAL

A

A

JOURNAL

OF THE

MOST MEMORABLE TRANSACTIONS

OF

GENERAL OWEN O NEILL,

AND HIS PARTY,

From the Year 1641, to the Year 1650.

FAITHFULLY RELATED By

COLONEL HENRY Mc TULLY O NEILL,

WHO SERVED UNDER HIM.

A JOURNAL OF THE Most Memorable Transactions, &c.

AFTER the commotions betwixt England and Scotland, about the beginning of October (41) Sir Phelim O Neill, Sir Con Magenis, colonel O Brien, colonel Butler, with several others of the nation, had several regiments of foot ready to march for Catalonia, with the king's permission, the Spanish ambassador having prevailed then with his majesty to send over such levies of the Irish, when a noise came amongst the Roman catholicks of Ulster (confirmed soon after by a letter intercepted from Scotland, to one Freeman of Antrim) that a puritan army was ready to come for Ireland, under the command of general Leslie, to suppress and extirpate the Roman catholicks of Ulster from amongst the Scotch; 1641.

and to that end a private declaration passed in their private meetings or council, to lay heavy fines on such of them as would not appear at their kirk the first and second Sundays, and the third Sunday to hang (without mercy) at their own doors, as many as would prove obstinate; which rigid and inhuman way of reforming, struck such a terror in the minds of the people, that every one thought of his own safety, or some general method of defence against so great a danger. Whereupon a convocation of the prime gentlemen of the province met, and communicated their thoughts and apprehensions to each other, and to some gentlemen in Leinster, who joining their heads together, resolved to send immediately an express by one abbot Conally, abbot of Clunes, to Owen O Neill, and other Irish officers in Flanders, to acquaint them of the present state of the kingdom, and how the Roman catholicks were threatened by the Scotch puritans and English presbyterians, and that they would, for their own present safety, endeavour to secure as many magazined forts and garrisons in the north as possible, &c. In order to which, on the twenty-second of October, 1641, Sir Phelim O Neill surprized Charlemont, and Sir Con Magenis Newry and other places; and at the same time ——— gent. employed on the same design to Dublin, being discovered, took no effect.

Soon after this, the Scotch in the North began their massacres in the counties of Downe and

and Antrim, at Island Magee, Ballydavy, Clonleck, Cumber, Gallagh, and Magheravern, 500 poor souls destroyed without regard to age or sex *, and that before one drop of blood was spilt by any Roman catholick; though afterwards, when these unparalleled murders were known, some of the loosest of the Irish rabble, being exasperated thereat, did, by way of retaliation, murder some British at Portadown, Clancan, Curbridge and Belturbet.

Sir Phelim O Neill being at this time the most considerable person of his name in Ulster, was chosen commander in chief; after which time not many acts of hostility passed on either side, to the landing of Owen O Neill in July, 1642, except when Sir Phelim went to besiege Drogheda. The O'Reillys and Mc Mahons fell on major Meredith, as he was coming to relieve Drogheda with five hundred men, who were cut off to a few. Sir Phelim, after being forced to withdraw his men from Drogheda, besieged Lisnagarvy (now called Lisburn) in the county of Antrim, which he was likewise forced to quit, by Sir Arthur Terringham and major Rawdon, who made a vigorous defence. Some time in this interval Sir Phelim was routed at Glanmaquin, (on a winter's frosty morning) in the county of Donegall, where Alexander M'

* This agrees with the account given by Clarendon in the appendix to his History of the Irish Rebellion, in the London edition.

Colle, his brother Engus, and Nectan O Donnell *, were wounded, Sir Phelim and Alexander M'Colle being ill provided for any action, And about the same time Phelim M' Tuol O Neill and M'Artan, with other gentlemen of the county of Downe, did rout a great body of the Scotch at Deirendreait in the same county, where the Scotch left three hundred behind them dead on the spot, and but very few of the Irish lost, being the most considerable loss the British had that year.

In March the same year, major general Monro (under general Leslie) was commanded out of Scotland with ten thousand men, landed at Carrickfergus, where the British of the counties of Downe and Antrim came nigh to him, and after a short stay marched with his whole army to Newry, which was surrendered upon the first summons (by a fresh-water governor) upon mercy, which proved so mercileſs, that a great many of the clergy and laity were hanged, killed and drowned about the bridge of the town. From Newry he returned back to his quarters, after preying the upper parts of the counties of Downe and Armagh. About the beginning of June after, he marched
1642. to Charlemont, Neal Modera O Neill being governor there from Sir Phelim, who defended it vigorously, all the store of ammunition found at Newry and other places, being spent at this siege and elsewhere, to a small

* Fitz Cathbarr, Fitz Hugh Oge, Fitz Hu. Duff.

quantity,

quantity, and having no supply nearer them than Limerick, dispatched a party thither with five hundred pounds, and with much ado could find but two firkins of powder, and forced to pay ten shillings for each pound. Munro having raised his siege at this time, in July following, 1642, he summoned all the British forces in Ulster, in order to overrun the whole province: the rumour of such great preparations being spread every where, the chief gentlemen of the Ulster Irish assembled at Glaslaugh in the county of Monaghan, where they concluded that every one should shift for himself, since they were in no posture of defence; some intending for France, some for Spain, Flanders, &c. others for the Highlands, and the most remote places within the kingdom. Amidst these sad resolutions an express arrived from general O Neill from Castledo, directed to Sir Phelim O Neill, of his safe arrival with ammunition, arms, and a few low-country officers and soldiers of his own regiment; and moreover, that he directed a frigate (the St. Francis) to land at Wexford with more ammunition, &c. which accordingly came in safe soon after, and withal prayed Sir Phelim and the rest of the Ulster gentlemen, to repair forthwith to him to Castledo, in order to bring him off, which was chearfully performed by the chief men, and fifteen hundred choice soldiers to accompany him through the most secure ways, which was accordingly done by Ballyshanny side (without any great interruption,

till they came to Charlemont, where he was no sooner arrived, but Munro had notice by the shooting of the artillery from the fort, whereupon he immediately ordered his army to march out of the county of Armagh (where they were come but a little before to harrass the whole country) and to make towards the county of Antrim to meet general Leslie, newly landed from Scotland with more men to join him; from whence they both marched soon over the lower Bann-water to the county of Derry (where Donnell Gerlagh O Cahane gave them some diversion in their passage with a small party). Leslie no sooner came to Tyrone, but sends a letter importing, that he was sorry a person of his experience and reputation abroad should come to Ireland to second so bad a cause, and advised him to return from whence he came. O Neill answered, he had more reason to come to relieve the deplorable state of his country, than he had to march at the head of an army to England against his king, to force him to give unreasonable conditions to himself and his countrymen, at a time when all Scotland was their own. During general Leslie's short stay this time near O Neill, he attempted nothing, but marched back to the Claneboys, where he left Munro with the army, and himself gone for Scotland. At his parting he told Munro, if O Neill got but once an army together, that he believed he would worst him. O Neill, at this, trusting to five or six hundred men only to attend

tend his person, and the garrison in Charlemont, the rest of the gentlemen being persuaded before to attend their several interests, in order to defend them the best they could from the incursions of the enemy, to wit, each county to defend themselves. In November following, the supreme council sent for O Neill, and made him general and general governor of Ulster, and of the two thousand arms sent over by the pope, gave him five hundred, which were brought to Ulster about the latter end of January following; from which time no action of note happened, only slight skirmishes by parties sent to the counties of Downe and Antrim, 'till May 1643. The March before, Henry Roe O Neill and colonel Richard Farrall landed at Wexford out of Flanders, with some few officers only, and arms for one troop of horse.

In May, 1643, Sir Robert Stewart of Culmore, with those of Leggan and Inniskillin, came to the borders of the county of Monaghan, preyed the country, took MaKana's wife of Treucha away, and killed Daniel Geulah O Cahane, then lieutenant general. 1643.

In the spring before, Munro lost no time in gathering as many of the British as he could, and modelling of them with his own army, with resolution to subdue the whole province in a trice; which he attempted in May 1643, as covertly by night as possible, 'till he reached Armagh with his whole army undiscovered, 'till the general himself, as he was hunting abroad, discovered

discovered them within two miles of him that, and four of his quarters at Anaghsawry, where they thought to surprize both him and his guards within a mile of Charlemont; but finding him nearer, unexpectedly fell upon him, accompanied with a few of his guards only, and some gentlemen, and chased him close to his quarters at Anaghsaury, where with his small party he received the enemy with so much bravery and experience of a knowing soldier, that he brought off himself and his party of four hundred men, without the loss of a man, from Munro's whole army (after a full hour's dispute in a lane leading to Charlemont, encloted with quicksets, which favoured much the retreat) and where Munro himself was forced to quit his horse and take a pike, upon major Ballentine's being killed, and the horse giving way, and where he was heard to say (crying aloud to his men) "Fay, fay, run awa frae awheen rebels." Munro being vexed at this disappointment, took up that night all the secure passes leading from Charlemont, with intent next morning to prey the whole country, especially near Charlemont. But lieutenant colonel Sanford was sent the same night with a round party, who killed the next day a hundred of their men, and obliged them to quit the preys, and withdraw towards their quarters without doing much harm, only burning an Englishman's house where the general quartered. Munro, the same summer, made a second attempt in like manner by night

to

to Armagh to beat up O Neill's quarters again, which frequent incursions made O Neill quit Charlemont and the whole province, and withdrew himself to the counties of Longford and Leitrim, 'till he had got an army together to enable him to meet the enemy in the field. In his way in July 1643, marching with what men and creaghts he had, through the county of Monaghan, Sir William Stewart and Sir Robert Stewart, with those of Leggan and Inniskillen, to the number of three thousand horse and foot, appeared at Clounes, within three miles of O Neill, to intercept him in his way (the Fermanagh gentlemen and spies who were intrusted to watch the enemy's motions that side, having given no timely notice or intelligence of their approaching.) At this time O Neill had not above one thousand six hundred men fit for any service, and many of them dispersed amongst the creaghts; but what of them were to the fore, were drawn up upon the enemy's moving towards them, the foot placed at a pass, the general himself with what horse (being only a couple of new-raised troops and some gentlemen) made forwards to take a view of the enemy's strength, and before they could well retire, the enemy charged them in the rear (almost mad drunk with usquebaugh) crying aloud, "Whar's Mc Art! Whar's Mc Art! (meaning the general) when one captain Stuart, with that huzza in his mouth, came up before the general, as he was entering on a narrow causeway, where O Neill

Neill himself shot him off his horse, but he lived, and was afterwards rewarded with one hundred pounds by my lord of Ormond for his singular and desperate onset this day on O Neill's person, who was in danger of being lost, with all his men, by lieutenant colonel Shane Mc Brian Luny O Neill's quitting the pass, where he was posted with the foot before to second the horse, where he heard they were engaged (an argument rather of his courage than good conduct) for which error he fell ever after into the general's ill opinion. In this action, which continued more than a full hour, the Irish lost about one hundred and fifty men, amongst whom colonel ConOge ONeill (Daniel's brother) was murdered by a presbyterian minister, after quarter given. Major Maurice O Kagan killed, with captain Andill O Hanlon, and several other officers; (colonel Hugh Duff O Neill and Art O Neill Mc Hugh Boy, taken prisoners) the general himself pursued back to Charlemont, where he staid but three days, when he began his intended journey again to the counties of Longford and Leitrim. The enemy (having preyed the country) retired back to Donegall and Fermanagh. As soon as O Neill came to Mohill in the county of Leitrim, he writ to the supreme council, who sent him a few arms and ammunition; and from Mohill removed to the county of Roscommon, and took up his own quarters at Killmore, and encamped his small army at Sheebrunagh, where they continued but three days, when

when a letter came from captain King from Abbyboyle to O Neill, That ſince he underſtood that O Neill iſſued out his commiſſion in the king's name, he knew no reaſon why they ſhould not join their men together: upon which O Neill ſent to the camp at Shee to double their guards, and to be vigilant 'till he had ſuggeſted what anſwer to return to King, or know more of his principles. In the mean while, captain King got all the Engliſh in the county of Roſcommon together, and by break of day fell in with the camp at Shee, which lay in diſorder, as well as the guards, occaſioned by a quantity of ſtrong-waters brought them the evening before by ſome Iriſh ſutlers out of the Engliſh garriſons adjoining, and routed them, with the loſs of one hundred and ſixty men killed and wounded, Hugh Maguire, Cuconaght More's father, taken priſoner; the captain of the guard for his neglect, was condemned and executed. This accident fell out in Auguſt, 1643. Immediately after O Neill marched back to Mohill and to Clonçork in the county of Leitrim, bordering on the county of Cavan, where the ſupreme council writ to him, deſiring he ſhould make up, out of hand, as many of the Ulſter men as he could, and march with them to join Sir James Dillon and the Meathians; whereupon he removed to Brus-hill, and ſummoned all the Ulſter gentlemen, who in a ſhort ſpace made up three thouſand men effectual, beſides colonel Richard O Ferral's regiment of foot, with whom he marched

marched to Clonebreny, and besieged it, with the help of one gun brought him by Sir James Dillon; the place soon surrendered by one Smyth, on terms to march out with arms and luggage. Other inconsiderable holds were reduced off-hand in these parts, and so to Ballybeg, where major Cardogan commanded, who after summons, sent his resolution of maintaining the place to the last. Upon which answer the gun was ordered to be planted, and after two or three shots, without any further ceremony, Cardogan himself slips out alone, and made towards the general. The guards would have shot at him, but being espied by the general himself, he commanded no body should touch him: and notwithstanding the Leinster gentlemen represented him as a very ill man, and deserving death, yet he told them, he would let him live longer, to become better, on the account of mercy, and spared Sir Harry's Tichbourn's son also, being both kept prisoners, but dismissed the garrison without their arms. About this time some commissioners chosen by my lord of Ormond, and others by the supreme council, met at Harristown in the county of Kildare, and there concluded a cessation of arms for twelve months; whereupon orders were issued to all commanders of armies to cease all acts of hostility. But my lord Moore would hearken to no such declaration, 'till he had first tried the mettle of Owen Roe and his Ulster creaghts: of which expression O Neill being informed, ordered his army

and

and creaghts to move towards Portleister ford, where the army encamped, and a party detached out immediately for another gun to Tychrochan, which no sooner arrived, but both guns were planted against an old castle on the river near the camp, where some of my lord Moore's men were lodged, and after several shots made to little effect, the general, not pleased with the gunner, alighted off his horse, and ordered the guns to be planted otherwise, and after a few shots, the men stole out by a private sally-port, and got over the river to their own party. At the same time notice came to the general, that my lord Moore was marching with his army from Athboy towards him; whereupon he ordered the guns to be removed to the camp, and to plant them at the ford, over which he passed himself with a squadron of horse, 'till he came to an old mill-head, called the Red Rails Mill, a good distance from the ford, the enemy's side, where he ordered a captain of the Magenis's with sixty men to be placed, and some pioneers to throw up some breast-work about the mill-door, which proved of good consequence afterwards, himself marching forwards to the top of a hill over the mill, to take a view of the enemy, which were marching up the other side of the hill in battle array, which made the general retire leisurely, and in the rear maintain a handsome play with the enemy's advanced guards, who pursued him close to the mill, where they were received with a warm salutation

tion by the party in the mill, and a troop of dragoons lining a ditch near it, who were all cut off to six men before they could be brought off. The sixty men in the mill bore the brunt of the whole day's action, by bravely opposing frequent attacks without intermission, or any personal relief, but what our great shot did by often clearing both sides of the mill effectually. Owen O Dougherty brought the mill at length a supply of ammunition, for which signal service he was made major next day to Henry Roe O Neill's regiment of horse, consisting then of three or four troops only. On both sides the main ford parties were disputing private passes, without much harm, or any great loss on either side, except the lord Moore himself, who was taken out of his saddle by the middle by one of the great balls, which was shot at a body of horse drawn up at a great distance on a height over the mill, of which loss the Irish knew nothing, 'till a deserter the next morning assured them both of that, and of the enemies having withdrawn in the night towards Athboy; upon which occasion the following verse was composed:

Contra Romanos Mores, res mira, dynasta
Morus, ab Eugenio, canonisatus erat.

WITHIN three days after Castlehaven came to the camp, and got the cessation proclaimed, upon which the Ulster army marched to the North,

North, every one to his own country to quarter his men. O Neill took up his quarters again at Anaghsaury, the English quartering in the counties of Down and Antrim (except Sir John Clotworthy and the presbyterians) submitted to the cessation. But Munroe and the Scotch would not, alledging, the council of Scotland sent them no such instructions.

In November 1643, general O'Neill was sent for to Waterford by a general assembly of the confederates, where it was ordered that Castlehaven should march to the north with six thousand men (the following season) at the cost of the other three provinces, and join O'Neill against the Scotch puritans. In this assembly a person of quality moved (and it past unanimously in the house) that some of the king's forts should be engaged to some state or potentate abroad, for a sum of money to carry on the war, 'til general O'Neill opposed it in a speech, wherein he laid open the danger and ill consequence it might produce to the king and nation, to give any foreigner an interest in the kingdom; and withal said, they were no mercenary soldiers, but natives of the kingdom, that might, without any extraordinary expence, agree well with such cloathing and diet as the country itself could afford, &c. After a short stay here, O'Neill returned to Ulster; and in March following, 1644, captain Chichester, governor of Belfast, and Theophilus Jones, governor of Lisburne, wrote to general O'Neill, that

Munroe possessed himself of Belfast, and was resolved to offer the like to Lisburne; and desired O'Neill to send them some ammunition for their present supply, which he willingly granted: but soon after he was forced (by the growing power of the Scotch) to quit Ulster again, and march with his army and creaghts to the counties of Meath, Longford, Leitrim, and Cavan.

In May, 1644, Castlehaven was making all the preparation possible to get his six thousand ready; and likewise O'Neill losing no endeavours on his part, and hearing that Castlehaven and his army had set out, went the length of Portleister to meet and receive him. In the mean time Munroe was on his march with a great army of twelve thousand men, composed of English and Scotch, and never stopt 'till he came the length of Granard, where he made no stay, but forced his passage over Fena into Leinster, with resolution to fall on O'Neill and his party; but hearing Castlehaven and he joined, stopped Carlonstown, and burning it, returned in all haste back again to the North. About the latter end of July, 1644, as soon as O'Neill and Castlehaven modelled their own armies together, they likewise marched to Charlemont, where they were supplied with provisions from Newry, Dundalk and Drogheda, the only towns that observed the cessation that side of the kingdom. What supply the creaghts could afford the other side, was not wanting, during the camp's stay at

Charlemont;

Charlemont; from whence they marched to Tanderagee, about the beginning of September, 1644, where they raised a fort to secure their magazine, and soon after Castlehaven marched into the enemy's quarters with a body of two thousand foot and five hundred horse; colonel Myles Reilly and colonel Bryan Roe O Neill, with squadrons of their own horse, appointed to wait on Castlehaven in this expedition (where no great service was done or performed, only captain Blair taken prisoner, and a hundred of his men killed near Dromore). Upon the alarm, several squadrons of the horse advanced from Munroe's camp, who forced Castlehaven to retire to Tanderagee, wanting his foot, missed the night before, and not able to come up timely to the horse, who performed what service was done. Soon after this, Munroe, with his whole army of thirteen thousand British, marched to Armagh. Upon notice of their coming, the Irish army removed to the very gates of Charlemont, and the creaghts removed to the remotest parts of the counties of Monaghan, Cavan, and Tyrone, which was a great want in maintaining the army, since the supplies from Newry, Dundalk and Drogheda, were stopped by the enemy's encamping at Armagh. During the stay of both armies so near one another for five or six weeks, no action of note happened, except what passed betwixt out-guards and scouts; only three troops of horse commanded to a pass on the Black-water, between Benborbe and Kinarde,

narde, to keep the enemy from ſpoiling the county on Dungannon ſide, were beaten off, with the loſs of ſome men; captain Charles Hovendon killed, captain Con Baccagh O Neill killed before the face of lieutenant colonel Fennell, and a ſtrong ſquadron of horſe under his command, who flatly denied to relieve thoſe prime officers and gentlemen of Ulſter, which diſguſted very much O Neill in his ſickneſs, which kept him for many days before from negociating any affairs relating to the army. The Iriſh army at length being diſtreſſed for want of proviſion, were forced to decamp (leaving captain Whyte goverhor in Charlemont) and marched by night bag and baggage, after making a ſhow the evening before (by making of caſhes or tochers over a bog leading to the enemies camp) of a reſolution to fight them the next day. O Neill beginning to mend of his diſtemper, took up his quarters at Ballyhaiſe in the county of Cavan, and Caſtlehaven took up his within two miles of him, from whence he writ to O Neill, praying him (if his health would permit) to come to ſee him. The meſſenger who brought the letter, obſerving ſomehow by Caſtlehaven or his officers, that they were reſolved to lay the whole blame of their ill ſucceſs in the North on O Neill, gave him warning of it, which made the biſhop of Clogher, and others of his friends, to mind him of a ſtrong guard to attend his perſon, but he ſaid he valued them not, nor their ill ſuggeſtions, and

went

went only with his secretary and a few attendants, to see Castlehaven, who put to him, how they could excuse themselves for not performing some signal service or exploit in the enemy's country. O Neill replied, as infirm as he was, his best advice was not wanting to his lordship. Castlehaven said, his officers were much concerned, that O Neill and his officers called them cowards. I must confess, says O Neill, I did say so to a gentleman here,* lieutenant colonel Fennell, with the feather, a cowardly cock, for seeing my kinsmen overpowered by the enemy, some of them hacked before his face, and a strong brigade of horse under his command, and never offered to relieve them; and in a little heat said, "My lord, we need not discourse any more on this subject, 'till we both appear before the supreme council that employed us both." So they parted, Castlehaven marching towards the West, O Neill staying about Cavan a fortnight longer, from whence he marched to the King's County with his own guards, and a few beeves to subsist them. The winter following he went to the assembly at Kilkenny, to whom he moved, that he under-

* This gentleman, about five years after, either by treachery or cowardice, quitted Killaloe to Ireton, and with all his party fled into Limerick; where, upon the reduction of that town, which was not long after, Ireton, with more than ordinary justice, hanged him. Castlehaven's Memoirs, p. 128. Et in secunda edit. p. 173.

stood that Castlehaven and his officers would lay the blame at his door, for performing no considerable service in their expedition to the North. And since foreign residents were in town, in his opinion, if the general assembly, on examining matters of fact, did not find one of them deserving to lose his head, he presumed the world abroad would think the assembly and nation very inconsiderable, and not fit to be corresponded with, whereupon the assembly appointed a committee to examine the whole matter, which accordingly was done, but no report made to this hour.

No action this year, only orders from the supreme council to O Neill for levying
1645. a sum of money on the creaghts and Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to which O Neill repaired to Carrickmacross, in the upper parts of the county of Monaghan, from whence he removed to Belturbet, where he resided 'till the nuncio came to Kilkenny.

O NEILL in the spring waited on the nuncio at Kilkenny, where the supreme coun-
1646. cil gave him a new power to levy a new army of northern men, which he compleated in May following to five thousand men strong, of which five hundred horse, such as they were; with whom he marched to Benborbe, marching with six thousand foot in nine battalions, and eight hundred horse well accoutred, and encamped at the old place near Armagh, and within seven miles of O Neill's camp.

camp. Next day, being the fifth, the scouts came in with news that the enemy was marching westward from Armagh towards Glasslagh, and at the same time that colonel George Munroe marched with a party of five hundred foot from Colerain to Dungannon, within seven miles of Benborbe, on the other side; whereupon O Neill, with all his horse, went to the top of the hill, (where the battle was fought the same afternoon) to take a view of the enemy in their march, as they passed the road the other side of the river towards Glasslagh (the place appointed for the Laganners and those of Colerain to join the main body). O Neill having taken a full view of the enemy, and which way they were leading, commanded most of his horse to march towards Dungannon, with design to cut off (if possible) George Munroe's five hundred foot in their march to Glasslagh, whilst himself staid with the remainder of the horse to attend the enemy's further march. The party at Dungannon observing the Irish horse approaching, posted themselves advantageously in hedges, that the horse could do them no harm, (the foot sent to second them not coming in time). In the mean time the army from Armagh, upon second thoughts, marching (unexpectedly) over the river at Kinard, towards the general, which was no sooner observed, but he ordered his own regiment of foot to march to a narrow pass within two miles of the camp in the enemy's way, from whence they were soon forced, by an or-

derly retreat, into their own body, as they were moving to gain an advantageous piece of ground of which the enemy possessed themselves before they could come up, the enemy having the advantage to be drawn up on this plain hill, with some useful ditches. O Neill being necessitated to draw up his army on a low piece of shrubby ground (with some difficulty) and of great disadvantage to his men in their advancing towards the enemy, who never moved forwards, but playing incessantly with their field pieces, which alarmed the party sent to Dungannon, and obliged them to return in haste. At first view of them, Munroe took them to be the Laggan horse, but finding his mistake, was somewhat surprized, as some of his own officers informed, and now, they observed, he always dreaded O Neill. Both armies being drawn up orderly on both sides, O Neill in the front made a short exhortatory speech, wherein he displayed their present condition, and how every individual man there was obliged to fight for his king, religion, and country, and withal how burdensome they and their creaghts were to the rest of the kingdom, &c. and so gave the word of command to advance, which they chearfully and bravely obeyed, 'till they joined battle, (commanding Rory Maguire's regiment for a reserve.) In the advance our men and the enemy forbore firing 'till they came to push a pike, where the English, commanded by my lord Blaney, maintained their ground, 'till my lord and most of

his

his men were cut off. The rout began two hours before night, in which the enemy left very rich booty of all sorts, which hindered the execution much, by the soldiers falling to plunder. My lord Montgomery was taken prisoner, and so was major Cogheran; captain Hamilton, with several other officers slain, with four thousand private men on the spot; and in the pursuit that night and the next day, about one hundred and fifty soldiers taken prisoners, and dismissed with a pass. To the best of my memory upwards of twenty colours taken, their artillery (being four field-pieces) with most of all their arms, tents, and baggage left behind (except Sir James Montgomery's regiment on their right, who escaped.) Lost on the Irish side, colonel Manus Mc Neale, Garve O Donnell, slain; lieutenant general Farrall and lieutenant colonel Phelim Mc Tuall O Neill wounded; colonel Miles Reilly's cornet killed, with thirty-five private men, and two hundred and forty-five wounded. Next day O Neill ordered my lord Blaney's and captain Hamilton's corps to be interred in Benburbe church with the proper ceremonies. If God had not put this timely stop to Munroe's career, his instructions and intentions were to harrass the whole country before him till he came to Dunore near Kilkenny, as was found by a memorial delivered by my lord Mountgomery's own hand, when a prisoner. O Neill, to follow this good success, marched with his now well provided army to Tanderagee, in order

to

to reduce the counties of Down and Antrim. By this time my lord of Ormond was assured of the defeat at Benburbe, by some of his own creatures, employed as spies, in Munroe's army; whereupon he sent his serjeant at arms to Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, to proclaim a peace concluded some time before (unknown to general O Neill, and most of the clergy of the kingdom) with the supreme council; which, no sooner the nuncio heard, but he sends an express to O Neill, to congratulate his late victory, and withal desired him to march with his army forthwith to Kilkenny (affairs there being of late carried contrary to the engagements given them both before by the assembly and supreme council). This message of the nuncio overtook O Neill at Tandragee, as he was ready to march into the enemy's quarters; yet to shew his obedience to the nuncio, he calls a council of war, and resolves to march immediately, much against his own and the whole army's inclination, to wave so good an opportunity of improving the catholick cause in the province of Ulster, and consequently in the whole kingdom. How breaches were made up afterwards at Kilkenny, you know best, for I staid behind then in the North to recruit my troop: but this much I can call to mind, when O Neill returned from Kilkenny, he took in Maryborough, Desart, Cullebbragh, Slaghan, *alias*, Dsidon, Bealaroyn, Castlereban, Athy, &c. From Athy the general went to Harris-

town,

town, where Sir Phelim O Neill and Harry Roe O Neill were with all the horse for some weeks before. From Harristown they marched to Lucan, where the army wanting provisions and other necessaries, and despairing of doing any good, by reason of many disappointments, marched back to Castlereban near Athy, where the general kept his winter quarters, and dispersed the army to the most convenient quarters in the kingdom. In this march I heard of none that deserted our army, nor of no engagement with any of Preston's party.

After Preston was beaten at Lindsy's Knock by colonel Jones, O Neill being come then the length of Abbyboyle with a good army to take his rounds by Sligoe, some of the supreme council came to him from Kilkenny, to dissuade him from his present design, and to return back to Leinster to relieve them, since general

, and the whole country was open for Jones and his successful English party; which message O Neill and the rest of his army disapproved, and yet were loth to return a positive denial, 'till the second message, whereby the supreme council pressed the necessity of his immediate return, as affairs stood; which prevailed at last with O Neill to alter his former resolutions, and march back to Killbegan, much against his own and his officers inclinations, some whereof mutinied in four or five days after, and kept their cabal meetings within Killbegan church. The chief ringleaders colonel Alexander M'Donnell,

Rory

Rory Maguire, Hugh Boy O Donnell, with most of the whole army of foot, except the general's own regiment of foot, lieutenant general Farrall's, and Philip M'Hugh O Reilly's. Upon the first notice the general had of this mutiny, he thought to surprize and secure the chief heads; but on the first beat of drum, when the cabal officers saw him make towards them, they immediately ran, and every one of them headed their own men, with resolution to stand out, and march from the camp. The general immediately ordered the artillery to be planted on them as they stood, which with the mediation of the bishop of Clogher and general Farrell, wrought upon them so as to be pacified, and brought to a better understanding, and so submitted and acknowledged their error; though many in the world would think it a plausible pretence, as alledging (which was true) that they had no subsistance, or any kind of establishment in the standing army of the kingdom, as other provinces had, and that they served only to be absolute slaves to the supreme council, who contributed nothing towards their maintenance, though apt to call upon them on an emergency; and when any service offered that might probably redound to their present or future glory, or the general good of the nation, they always thwarted or diverted them, which they conceived to be an ill design, either to make them inconsiderable in the nation, or instruments only to serve their own ends. O Neill made answer, "I

told

told you often, and the generality of the nation, that I came to the kingdom with intent to serve the king and the nation in general, and in particular the province wherein I was born, and that no further than reason and justice would dictate; and do tell you, no pretence or colour of any other nation whatsoever, will dissuade me from discharging to the utmost of my power the many assurances of this kind I gave the supreme council, and the nation in general, and to you before; and do believe nothing will more endear or create a better understanding between you and the rest of your countrymen than a timely relief of this kind in time of need." So the discontents being for this time seemingly made up, the army marched forwards to Castle-Jordon, where O Neill quartered 'till November following, 1647, when he and the Leinster officers joined, composed most of horse, as Sir Walter Dungan, Lewis Moore, Finglas, Barnwall, &c. with some Connaught captains of the Roirke's and Reynolds's, with some Kelley's, in the whole amounting to twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, with whom they marched to burn the English quarters near Dublin, by order of the supreme council. The first day they marched near Lindsey's Knock, the second day to Dunboyne, the next day a party detached to burn and spoil the country. The same day the army marching over a bridge near Clonee, to a rising hill where they were drawn up, upon an alarm that colonel Trevor was approaching

proaching with a strong body of horse from Castleknock to the bridge, the army passed a little before, from whence he was soon forced to make a brisk retreat, the army continuing on their march, 'till they came that night to Brazell, the fourth day to Ratoah, where about twelve o'clock Michael Jones Trevor, Sir Harry Titchburne, and Sir Thomas Armstrong appeared within a small distance with four squadrons of horse, who after our army was drawn up, and they taking a full view of them, called a council of war, who agreed it was dangerous to venture on such a formidable army, commanded by an old experienced soldier; and so marched off without offering the least disturbance, our army continuing on their march, 'till, we came that night the length of Clonmolin, where we still apprehended an onset from Jones and the rest, which obliged us to stand to our arms all night; the fifth day to Blackford, within three miles of Clonard-bridge, where the enemy likewise appeared, and went off as before; the sixth day passing over Clonard-bridge, and so back to Castle-jordan. During the whole march, parties were employed to burn and spoil, who brought in great booties. Sir Walter Dungan and colonel Bryan M'Mahon commanded the forlorn hope during this march in the enemy's quarters. At Blackford I heard Sir Walter Dungan, Finglas, &c. affirm, they learned more experience in this march than ever they did in their lives before. The winter following the

the army was quartered dispersedly over the kingdom, with daily expectation of being disarmed by the supreme council.

ORMOND, Inchiquin, and the supreme council, having agreed about the latter end of spring, Sir Phelim O Neill, lord Iveagh, Alexander M'Donnell, Bryan M'Coll M'Mahon, Myles Reilly, Hugh Boy O Donnell, Forlagh O Neill M'Henry, and Art. M'Hugh Boy O Neil, both of the Fews, Daniel Oge Magenis, uncle to the lord Iveagh, and such others as were possessed of their estates in 1641, deserted O Neill, and joined Ormond, Inchiquin, and the supreme council, except Philip M'Hugh O Reilly, Rory Maguire, Hugh M'Brian, M'Cuconaght Maguire, Hugh M'Art. Roe M'Mahon, Bryan Mantagh M'Mahon, Miles Swiny, O Cahane Hugh M'Patrick Duff M'Mahon, Coll. Con O Roirk, and captain Charles Reynolds, of the county of Leitrim, lieutenant general Ferrall, and all his relations in the county of Longford (except Richard Fitz Robert O Ferrall) who stuck to O Neill. You may judge what state O Neill was left in at this time. In May following the nuncio apprehending the foul play, and observing how affairs ran at Kilkenny quite contrary to his expectation, sends privately to O Neill, praying him to send a party of horse to meet and receive him at Ballynekilly a certain night, and that he would endeavour to make his escape from Kilkenny, which accordingly was done, and the nuncio conveyed

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veyed to a house, prepared for him near Maryborough, where O. Neill then quartered, and where both of them staid some time after. Rory Maguire in the mean time was sent to rendezvouz what men he had at Birr, and to make up a body of them, and such as would join with them, some horse and foot came in accordingly, and an express was sent to Phelim M'Hugh O Reilly to march with what men he had from the county of Cavan, who met the express by the way coming. No sooner were they joined, but news came that general Preston took the field, whereupon O Neill removed with his small army to Athlone, to secure his men as well as that pass. In his march near Moatgranoge, the first blood was spilt between him and Preston, by one captain Davys, an officer of Castlehaven's, taken prisoner before near Armagh, and released by O Neill after Benborbe fight. Preston and his army draws near Athlone, and encamps at Toy, within two miles of it. O Neill within and Preston without the town, spent a good deal of time in one another's neighbourhood, without any other action but slight skirmishes, 'till O Neill, for want of provision, was forced to quit the place and march to Jamestown, leaving Theobald Magauly with some officers and soldiers of his own army, to guard and defend the castle and pass; he takes a round by Mohill, through the county of Leitrim, to St. Johnstown in the county of Longford, where news came to him that Clanrickard, Preston, and all those that

joined

joined with them, invested Athlone with a very close siege on both sides the river, whereupon he marches forward to Ardagh, and resolves to try his fortune in raising the siege, when intelligence came to him that the lord Dillon, lord Taaffe, major Barnwall and colonel Purcell, were posted at Ballymore with a considerable party of horse and foot to intercept him: however, O Neill keeps on his march over the Ennywater, to encounter them at Ballymore. First, as he passed the river, some diversion was offered by a party of the enemy, the next day proving very rainy, obliged him to keep his camp all that day at a convenient distance from Ballymore, without any alarms from the enemy; the next morning he appears before it, where no sooner discovered, but the lords ordered the foot to line the old walls and ditches of both sides the street, and the horse to be drawn up in the center within the town. O Neill attacks and dislodges the foot, and routed both them and the horse together, without much dispute, or any great loss, (O Neill abhorring the spilling of his countrymens blood if he could help it.) He lost only four men of his own, more of the enemy, and lieutenant Barry taken prisoner. Two nights before this Athlone surrendered; O Neill to secure Athy and other towns in Leinster in his hands, marches forthwith to Maryborough, his army beginning to encrease daily, having at this time about 2500, he marches to Athy, next day he storms Ballylichan and Hevendon's castle, and

gave merciful quarters. Within two days after our army was mustered, and found to be 3000 strong, horse and foot. Next day they marched to Ballyragid, (Mountgarret's house) the second day to Dominbridge (within three miles of Kilkenny) where Rory Maguire was commanded with two troops of horse to Dunmore. In his way a squadron of horse accosted him, who engaged and forced him to retire back to the camp; the next day we crossed the river into my lord Mountgarret's deer park, where we were supplied with store of venison and good ale found in the park lodge; we staid here but five days, in which time abundance of preys, and all sorts of provisions came in from Ossory. Preston and Inchiquin appearing daily with great bodies of horse on rising grounds westward of us; we marched from before their faces, 'till we came to Gortahee Tocher (the first day) which was made up in an instant with faggots, and so to Burrisewly. By this time Inchiquin was appointed with 5000 horse and foot to attend our motions, and wait an opportunity to beat up our quarters, which he never dared nor offered to attempt in our whole march. An express met our general here from the O Brien's of Thomond to invite him over the Shannon, which he seemed to accept, and in order to it marched to Killaloe, where some of those gentlemen met and conferred with him, laying before him some friendly projects, which he also seemed to approve, but told them, within forty-eight hours

longer

longer he would resolve them further: in the mean time he commands Rory Maguire, with three or four hundred men (under pretence of bringing in preys) to march towards Banacher in order to surprize it, having received an account from his spies of the present state of it, which Maguire accordingly gained before the next morning with great toil and expedition; a piece of service very acceptable, and of great consequence at that time; of which, no sooner O Neill had notice, but he marches to the Silver-mines, and commanded Phelim Mc Tuoll O Neill with a detachment to storm Nenagh, if not surrendered upon summons, which they would not yield to, 'till it was taken by storm. From the mines (where they encamped but one night or two) they marched to Nenagh, and so to Birr, where an express met the general from the government of Athy, that he was closely besieged by general Preston and one Mr. Thomas, whereupon Phelim Mc Tuoll was appointed out again with a detachment of 450 men to relieve Athy, and in his instructions was to ferry over his men by night at Castlereban within two miles of Athy. He marched with such expedition, that he tired his men to fourscore, with whom he boldly ventured through Mc Thomas's brigade, and forced his way through an old abbey likewise possessed by the enemy, and in his way took lieutenant colonel Sanford and other officers prisoners (but the lieutenant colonel afterwards made his escape) and relieved the town,

which lay in a gaſping condition. The enemy went off; O Neill himſelf with his whole army appeared next day, where he continued but one day longer, when an expreſs came that Nenagh was regained by Inchiquin, and Baneher blocked up, whereupon he counter-marched with all expedition, 'till he came to Ballaghnore, now called Owen Roe's paſs, and blocked up Inchiquin and his army. There happened no action except ſlight ſkirmiſhes, during a whole fortnight's ſpace, both armies lay ſo near one another, 'till Clanrickard and Taaffe with all their power came from Connaught to join Inchiquin, and jointly to fall on O Neill, who, to know their ſtrength, alarmed their advanced guards, which occaſioned by that means the enemy's whole army to appear under arms within a muſket ſhot of O Neill, who ordered his army likewiſe to draw out. Both armies being thus drawn at that diſtance on both ſides a mill-race, one Purdon, with 400 horſe, falls in the rear of O Neill's camp, and entered boldly on the general's own quarters, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the artillery, which he kept but a ſhort time, being beaten off by one troop of horſe and 100 foot, left to ſecure the quarters and guns. Purdon retires to Birr, from whence he came, and left only nine of his men dead behind him. Both the armies withdrew this day without much action, except random ſhots, which ſlightly wounded of our ſide Con Backagh O Neill and major Dougherty and Art. Mc Hugh Boy O Neill taken priſoner. O Neill's army

growing

growing ſcarce of proviſion by ſtaying ſo long in ſo inconvenient a place; Bangor given up, and the inhabitants quitting the country to remote places, who afforded them ſome ſupply at firſt, decamped the firſt of October, and marched by night towards Ballyboy-arkall, the rather, our general being aſſured that Inchiquin with his main body would fall upon them in the front the next day, and Purdon in the rear with his party, which they attempted to do two hours after we began our march, by viſiting our empty camp. From Ballyboy we marched the ſame day to Tullamore, where we encamped that night. Inchiquin miſſing of his aim, marches to Kilkenny, Clanrickard back to Connaught, O Neill ſtraight to Liſnemain near Belturbet, where he remained all the winter and ſpring. When O Neill left Tullamore, he ſtaid for five or ſix weeks in the counties of Weſtmeath and Longford, from whence he marched to Liſnemain in the county of Cavan, and quartered his men on the creaghts and the inhabitants of the county of Cavan, the upper parts of the county of Monaghan; and in the ſpring ſent major general Hugh Duff O Neill back to Weſtmeath, and ſtormed Balanalack caſtle, whereabouts our men were quartered, in continued action with the Meathians 'till Eaſter Sunday following, we marched back again, after forcing the county of Weſtmeath to pay us contribution, and after which we made ſhift to live amongſt the Ulſter creaghts 'till the ceſſation with general Monk.

As to the peace concluded between Ormond and the confederates in 1648, I know no reason why O Neill was not concerned, if not upon the nuncio and clergy's being disgusted, as well as he. The misunderstanding began in 1647, all the deserters went off the May before. January 1648, you can remember the assembly took a solemn oath to conclude no peace, nor act any general thing tending to the nation, without the major vote of the assembly and supreme council. If they acted any thing contrary to that oath, as possibly they might, or was believed they did, must probably be the main motive for the distinction: I am sure O Neill was always for establishing a certain number of the northern army with the standing army of the kingdom, in regard he served them all alike. What of this I cannot call to mind, I must refer to your own better memory; but this more I can add, that one Thomas Ferrall, of the supreme council, mentioned that no other title should be given O Neill in any directions, but Mr. Owen O Neill, an argument of spiteful malice and antipathy.

In the beginning of May O Neill finding himself destitute of all possibility of doing good, and having no means left him under God's providence, but a few poor creaghts of his own country to maintain himself and the few men he kept on foot still, and no ammunition, nor means left to get any, unless by taking some desperate course; on which he settled his thoughts, and off-hand summoned

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summoned a provincial council to meet at Belturbet, where it was concluded (upon a former invitation sent by sir Charles Coote) to treat with him for ammunition, and commissioners appointed immediately to meet him for that purpose, or his commissioners, at Newtown near Drimahire, where colonel Richard Coote and major Ormsby met, and agreed to give thirty barrels of powder, ball and match proportionably, and three hundred beeves, or four hundred pounds in money conditionally: O Neill should march with his army to relieve Derry, secretary Glancy was left at Sligo to receive the ammunition; but within two days after, colonel Coote wrote to O Neill, that his brother the lord president would not stand to those articles, and so broke off: whereupon, to try other conclusions, Hugh Mc Pat. Duff Mc Mahon was sent to colonel Monk: with the like proposal, which was readily granted; whereupon O Neill with his weak army marched to Glasdromon, within seven miles of Dundalk, where Monk quartered; from whence he sends a party with carriage-horses to receive and bring home the ammunition. Colonel Trevor hearing of the passage, prepares himself with five or six squadrons of horse, and marches from Drogheda to interrupt them, which he effectually did, by surprizing the party in their return in a plain road, and taking the ammunition, and routing the whole party after a hot dispute. This accident no sooner happened, but O Neill marched

to Clownefs, where an exprefs came to him the next day from Sir Charles Coote, acquainting him that Derry was again befieged by my lord Montgomery and the Scotch, and that he would allow and ratify the former propofals, fo he went to raife the Scotch from Derry, which O Neill was forced to accept of this time; and in order to make good his part of the agreement, marches by fhort fteps with his army, confifting of 2000 men, 'till he came to Ballykelly in the county of Derry, of which he poffeffed himfelf. The Scotch hearing of his approach, raifed their fiege and pofted away by day and night, 'till they were over the Ban-water in their own country. O Neill encamps before the town, Tyrone fide of the river, where prefident Coote came to compliment him, and perform his conditions, and afterwards invited him and his chief officers into the town, and treated them nobly. O Neill continued encamped for eight or nine days longer, where he unfortunately fell fick, occafioned (as fome confidently affirmed, and was myfelf fince affured by an Englifh officer that it was fo) by a poifoned pair of ruffet leather boots, fent him as a prefent by a gentleman of the Plunket's from the county of Lowth, who boafted to this gentleman that he did the Englifh a confiderable fervice in difpatching O Neill out of the world. About this time Ormond befieged Dublin, who fent Daniel O Neill, to his uncle O Neill, now fick, with the fame propofals formerly offered, who feemed

to

to accept of none, but ſuch as the nuncio would approve. By next poſt news came of Ormond's being routed by Jones, whereupon O Neill calls for the chief officers of his army, and put to them what was beſt to be done as affairs ſtood? They all ſubmitted to his better judgment, who replied, "Gentlemen, to demonſtrate to the "world that I value the ſervice of my king, and "the welfare of my nation, as I always did, I "now forget and forgive the ſupreme council, "and my enemies their ill practices, and all the "wrongs they did me from time to time, and "will now embrace that peace which I for-"merly denied out of a good intent." Whereupon commiſſioners were appointed to go along with Daniel O Neill to my lord of Ormond, to ratify the ſame. Having his leave of Sir Charles Coote, begins his march (he being carried in a horſe litter himſelf) 'till they came the length of Ballahays in the county of Cavan, where colonel Trevor came to kiſs his hands, and to congratulate the late good underſtanding between Ormond and him. From hence he commanded his lieutenent general and major general Hugh O Neill to march with the army, and join my lord of Ormond, he himſelf growing worſe and worſe, was removed to Clogh-otterwater, near Cavan, where he departed this life the ſixth of November, 1649, and was interred in the Old Abbey of Cavan.

About March following a provincial council was ſummoned to meet at Belturbet, in order to elect a new general for the province of Ulſter, where the marquis of Antrim, Sir Phelim O Neill, lieutenant general Ferrall, Henry Roe O Neill (Hugh Duff being then in Munſter) and the biſhop of Clogher, met as competitors (biſhop Sweney of Kilmore, chairman) and the competitors names being called over they all appeared except Hugh Duff. The articles between Ormond and general O Neill were called for, and read, wherein a proviſo was found, that in caſe God ſhould call away general O Neill, none of the deſerters ſhould have a vote in the election of a new general; whereupon thoſe of the deſerters that ſtood by were ordered to withdraw, which they did after ſome debate. The evening before, the biſhop of Clogher endeavoured to gain ſome of general O Neill's friends to vote of his ſide, making them believe that he would reſign over the place again to Daniel O Neill, who was a favourite both of the king's and of Ormond's, and a perſon both a ſoldier and a native of the province, by which means he got an intereſt which contributed much to his election, which done he waits on the lord of Ormond to receive his commiſſion, but he goes *pro forma* to Daniel O Neill, and offered it him conditionally if he would become a Roman catholick, which the ambitious biſhop knew he would not liſten to. As far as I could underſtand, Ormond favoured the biſhop before Antrim, or any other

of

of the province, except Daniel O Neill, who was incapable on account of his religion. The main consideration and winning reasons that took place in the election were, that if any of the deserters, or others of emulous and ambitious spirits were chosen, that probably it might occasion the province to fall in pieces again, and for want of due consideration in hot and factious brains could not be brought unanimously into the field under a lay, so well as a spiritual commander. Being under cure of my wounds, I was not an eye-witness of the action at Litterkenny, but what I have by hearsay, and by an officer that was in the action, who assured me that the bishop was four thousand strong, when he marched to Tyrconnell. When the army came to Litterkenny, colonel Miles Swiny made an humble request of the bishop to give him and his regiment leave to march to Castledo to try if he could gain it for their future security in that part of the country, which was granted, but was wanting afterwards, as many others were that were left in garrisons up and down in those parts, which very much weakened the army the day of action. It appeared to this gentleman that the enemy had as many horse of Scotch and English, as the Irish had of horse and foot. The Scotch who were protected by the bishop in those parts, and particularly colonel Saunderson, bore a great share in defeating him the last day, the first day's engagement being a fortnight before, was thus: the bishop's army coming to a

pass

paſs on the river between Lifford and Derry, the tide beginning to flow, the colonels were commanded to caſt dice who would venture over the ford with his regiment firſt: Phelim Mc Tuoll O Neill, tho' his turn was that day to be in the rear, ſaid, he would caſt no lots, but would venture over, which he did with ſome difficulty, and beat off the horſe the other ſide, whereby he gave the whole army liberty to march over leiſurely, ſome forced to ſwim. All that night they were forced to ſtand to their arms; next day Sir Charles Coote appeared with his formidable army, and drew them up by a Daniſh ſtone fort upon a narrow paſs leading to Derry. The biſhop alſo drew up his army in battle array, both armies being within muſket ſhot of each other, captain Taylor and captain Catchcart, two of the beſt horſe officers the enemy had, marched with two ſtrong brigades of horſe towards the rear of our army in a full carreer, who were repulſed bravely by our horſe and ſome foot, and beaten back into their own body, with the loſs of both their fine captains, which ended moſt of this day's action, both armies withdrawing 'till the fatal day, at Litterkenny, ſome while after. The enemy in this interval preparing and encreaſing 'till the laſt blow was given, wherein we loſt, after quarters given, colonel Henry Roe O Neill, colonel Hugh Maguire, colonel Hugh Mc Mahon, Art. Oge O Neill, Mc Shane Deemis, and colonel Phelim Mc Tuoll O Neill. Quarters were made good

to

to none but George Sexton (quarter-maſter general) who was put to death afterwards at Carrickfergus, by order of the high court of juſtice; major general O Cahan killed on the ſpot, with a great many prime officers, and about 1500 private men; the biſhop taken two days after by major King near Inniſkillen, and executed afterwards in Inniſkillen. After this, every one ſhifted for himſelf the beſt he could, except ſome parties who kept out about Sleau Ruſſell in Ulſter, no general protection granted.

It is plain to the world what fund or ſupport Owen O Neill had in maintaining an army during the whole courſe of this war, having received no pay nor ſubſiſtence all the while, except a ſlender ſum in gold from the pope's nuncio (as general Preſton and others got) and had to deal with divers diſtinct and inveterate enemies, and with ſome very ungrateful friends and countrymen of his own perſuaſion, who joined in the main to ruin him and his well-meaning party, rather than propagate the catholick cauſe, or the good of the king and nation, as they ſolemnly ſwore and avowed. The notions under which the reſpective intereſts (then on foot) laboured to work out their own ends; which fatal diſunion and evil practices have infallibly opened the gap, and laid a foundation for other nations and religions to grow, as well as occaſion the univerſal decay of the new and ancient Iriſh, and the Roman catholick intereſt in this unhappy kingdom

kingdom ever ſince, and is like to continue ſo, *ad infinitum*, if God in his great mercy will not prevent it. *Fiat voluntas ejus.*

THE foregoing JOURNAL or MEMOIRS, were ſent by way of letter to colonel Charles Kelly of Agharahan.

SOME particulars relating to the manner of the death of my grand-father colonel Phelim Mc Tuoll, (whoſe commiſſions of lieutenant colonel to general O Neill's own regiment from the ſupreme council of the confederate catholicks of Ireland, dated the 16th day of March, 1645, and of colonel to the ſame regiment from the marquis of Ormond, dated the 12th of November, 1649, I have now by me) being omitted in the foregoing account, I do not think it improper to have them mentioned here; tho' I had the ſame account from ſeveral of the old people that were eye-witneſſes of, and converſant in the hiſtory of the tranſactions in thoſe days, yet I had the following narrative from—— Oſborne, an attorney of the court of exchequer in 1700, to whom the ſame was related by his father, one captain Oſborne of Sir Charles Coote's own regiment of horſe.

WHEN

When quarters were given to ſeveral of the Iriſh officers, and in particular to my grandfather, he and Sir Charles Coote came to terms about his ranſom, and it was agreed between them, that my grand-father, on procuring one hundred beeves from his friends to be delivered to Sir Charles, ſhould have his life ſpared, and be ſet at liberty; and for that purpoſe he was drawing articles to be executed between Sir Charles and him, when a ſerjeant came into Sir Charles's tent the next day after the action, with an account of his having brought colonel Henry Roe O Neill, general Owen O Neill's ſon, priſoner. Without more ado, Sir Charles reprimanded the ſerjeant for not bringing his head, and commanded him to go and diſpatch him immediately, whereupon the pen dropped out of my grandfather's hand, and accoſting Sir Charles in favour of his relation, pleaded in his behalf, his being a Spaniard born, and that he came here as a ſoldier of fortune, and hoped for thoſe conſiderations, he would not ſuffer his orders to be put in execution. But all would not do, the orders were executed; and Sir Charles telling my grandfather, that if he began to prate, he would be ſerved the ſame way, my grandfather being touched with the uſage his kinſman received, replied, "That he would rather be "ſerved ſo, than to owe his life to ſuch a mon-"ſtrous villain as he was;" whereupon he ordered him forthwith to be carried out, and knocked on the head with tent-poles, by Sir Charles's men,

men, which being obſerved by one of Sir Charles's officers that was coming towards the tent, aſked the ſoldiers what they meant by uſing the gentleman ſo, and they replying, it was by the general's orders, the officer, in compaſſion to him, and to put him out of pain, drew his ſword and ran him thro' the heart, and both his and Henry Roe's heads were cut off and put up in Derry; ſo far had they the honour to imitate the death of their king, who was moſt barbarouſly murthered the year before.

A SURVEY

A

SURVEY

OF THE

Half-Barony of *Rathdown*,

IN THE

County of *DUBLIN*.

Containing the PARISHES following, *viz.*

DONNEBROOK,	WHITE-CHURCH,
TANNEE,	KILLTERNAN,
KILL,	KILLGOBBIN,
MONKSTOWN,	RATHMICHAEL,
KILLENY,	AND
TULLY,	CONNAGH.

By Order of CHARLES FLEETWOOD, Lord Deputy, October 4th, 1654.

IN purſuance of a commiſſion and inſtructions (amongſt others) directed unto us from the right honourable the lord deputy and council, bearing date the fourth day of October, 1654, we have, as well by jury of the moſt knowing and ſufficient men of the half-barony of Rathdown, as by all other lawful ways and means in our power, endeavoured to find out the lands of the ſaid half-barony, with their quantity, quality, value in the year 1640, and what further by the ſaid commiſſion and inſtructions we were impowered to; and whereas we vary from the jury in the yearly value, anno 1640, we humbly offer for reaſons inducing us thereto:

FIRST, That though the ſaid jury were as aforeſaid of the moſt ſufficient men, we could inform ourſelves of, to aſſiſt in the carrying on of this work, yet they were not ſo wary in that particular, as behoved them, fearing (as we apprehend) that the contribution would in ſame proportion to the value then, be hereafter charged upon them. And

SECONDLY, we have viewed ſeveral of the ſaid lands, and do find them to have been worth as valued by us; and ſo the reſt comparatively; all which our proceedings, together with the ſaid commiſſion and inſtructions are here humbly returned, by

JOHN TUTTELL,
THO. TRESHAM,
JO. RAWLINS.

Patrick's-cloſe, Dublin, Nov. 3, 1655.

A Deſcription

A Deſcription of the Half-Barony of RATHDOWN in the county of Dublin, with the bounds thereof.

THE ſaid half-barony is bounded on the Eaſt with the ſea, on the South with Bray, on the Weſt Rathfarnham, in the barony of Newcaſtle, and on the North with the Ring's-end.

IT is in length eight miles, and in breadth four miles, that is to ſay, from the river of Donnebrook to the river of Bray, eight miles, and from Rathfarnham to Bullock four miles.

THE ſoil thereof for the moſt part is dry and hot, having nor woods, bogs, mines, or quarries thereon, only ſome rocky paſtures, which are of very little uſe.

THE ſaid half-barony contains eleven pariſhes, whoſe names are expreſſed in the title of this Survey.

A SURVEY

A SURVEY of the Half-Barony of RATHDOWN, &c.

The parish of DONNEBROOK, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish is bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with Stillorgan, in the parish of Kill, on the West with the parish of Tannee and Milltown, and on the North with the Ring's-end and Baggottroth.

Proprietor's name, and his qualification.	Denominations of Land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable, and waste, &c.	Value of the whole, and each of the said land, as it was in 1640.
Lord of Merrion. Irish Papist.	Simon's Court, by estimate two plow-lands.	One hundred and ten acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 20 0 0 Arable - 80 0 0 Pasture - 10 0 0		By the jury seventy pounds. By us ninety pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor is possessed of the premisses as his inheritance.
To the building. There is on the premisses one house slated, and a garden-plot. The buildings are valued by the jury at fifty pounds.
To the tythes. The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.
To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with Merrion, on the West with Donnebrook, and on the North with the Ring's-end.

			A. R. P.		
Lord of Merrion. Irish Papist.	Moiety of Merrion by Estimate one plowland.	Fourscore acres.	Meadow - 20 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Pasture - 0 0 0		By the jury forty pounds. By us seventy pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, and did mortgage the same to Richard earl of Corke, five or six years before the rebellion.
To the buildings.	There is on the premisses an old decayed castle, with a large burrow, valued by the jury at two hundred pounds.
To the royalties, tythes, &c.	The premisses are a manor, and kept court-leet and court-baron. The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with Butterstown, West Rabuck, and on the North with the Ring's-end.

			A. R. P.		
Sir Wm. Reeves of Rasallaght, Knt. English Protestant.	Butterstown, by estimate three plowlands.	Two hundred and forty acres.	Meadow - 5 0 0 Arable - 200 0 0 Pasture - 35 0 0		By the jury one hundred pounds. By us six score and five pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses in right of a mortgage from the lord of Merrion, about fourteen or fifteen years before the wars.
To the buildings.	There is on the premisses one castle in repair, and a garden-plot, the building valued by the jury at twenty pounds.
To the woods, mines, &c.	There is on the premisses a small grove of ash-trees set for ornament.
To the royalties, tythes, &c.	The premisses are a manor, and kept court-leet and court-baron, the tythes belong to Christ-church.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with the Kill of Grainge, on the West with Rabuck, and on the North with Merrion.

			A. R. P.	
	The whole number of acres contained in the aforesaid parish of Donnebrook, is as follows:	Meadow - - - - 45 0 0 Arable - - - - 340 0 0 Pasture - - - - 45 0 0		Four hundred and thirty acres.

The parish of TANNEE, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish of Tannee is bounded on the West with Rathfarnham, on the South with the parish of Killgobbin on the East, and North with the parish of Donnebrook.

Proprietors names and qualifications.	Denominations of Lands.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste.	Value of the whole and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
James Walsh of Bellawly, Irish Papist.	Bellawly, by estimate three plowlands.	Two hundred and twenty acres.	A. R. P. Meadow 12 0 0 Arable 108 0 0 Rocky Pasture 100 0 0		By the jury fifty pounds. By us ninety pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor died anno 1648, and mortgaged the said town to one Henry Warren, a rebel.

To the buildings, &c. There is on the premisses one castle thatched, with several houses of office, and the walls of a chapel, valued by the jury at twenty pounds.

To the tythes. The tythes did belong to St. Patrick's, Dublin, now to the college.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Killmacud, on the South with Killgobbin, on the West and North with Dondrom.

Colonel Oliver Fitzwilliams of Merrion. Irish Papist.	Dondrom and Ballintyry, by estimate six plow-lands.	Five hundred acres.	A. R. P. Meadow 20 0 0 Arable - 300 0 0 Mount and bog } 180 0 0		By the jury one hundred and fifty pounds. By us two hundred pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor acted in the Irish army as major-general.

To the buildings, &c. There is on the premisses one castle slated, and a barn, one garden-plot, and a small church-yard, valued by the jury at one hundred pounds.

Royalties and tythes. The premisses were a manor, and kept court-leet and court-baron; the tythes belong to the College of Dublin.

Mathew, lord baron of Trimblestown. Irish Papist.	Rabuck, by estimate four plow-lands.	Four hundred acres.	A. R. P. Meadow 12 0 0 Arable - 360 0 0 Pasture - 28 0 0		By the jury one hundred pounds. By us two hundred pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor acted in the Irish army as colonel of horse, and possessed the said lands as his inheritance, anno 1641.

To the buildings, &c. There is on the premisses one castle, which was destroyed by the rebels, and one garden-plot, one mill in use, worth anno 1642 ten pounds The jury value the buildings at sixty pounds.

To the royalties, tythes, &c. The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Butterstown, on the South with Killmacud, on the West with Dondrom, and on the North with Simon's-court.

The parish of TANNEE continued.

Proprietor's name and qualifications.	Denomination of land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
Lord Fitzwilliams of Merrion. Irish Papist.	Owenstown, by estimate one plow-land.	Threescore and eight acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 4 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Pasture - 4 2 0		By the jury sixteen pounds. By us thirty-four pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor did mortgage the premisses anno 1638 to one lieutenant Robert Cooke, who hath possession thereof.
To the royalties and tythes. The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.
Bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Butterstown, on the South with Stillorgan, on the West with Dondrom, and on the North with Rabuck.

Proprietor's name and qualifications.	Denomination of land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
Maurice Archbold of Killmacud, deceased, a papist, who left his interest to Richard Archbold of Malpas in England.	Killmacud, by estimate one plow-land and a half.	Fourscore and fifteen acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 15 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Pasture - 20 0 0		By the jury forty pounds. By us fifty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. Maurice Archbold and one William Archbold, sometime of Cloghran near Swords, hold the premisses as their inheritance, anno 1641.
To the royalties and tythes. The tythes belong to Christ-Church.
To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Stillorgan, on the South with Tipperstown, on the West with Dondrom, and on the North with Rabuck.

Sir William Usher, Knt. English Protestant.	A moiety of Church-town, by estimate one plow-land.	Threescore acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 10 0 0 Arable - 50 0 0		By the jury twenty-four pounds. By us thirty-five pounds.

To the proprietor. To the royalties and tythes. To the bounds.	**OBSERVATIONS.** The proprietor is possessed of the premisses as his inheritance. The tythes belong to the College of Dublin. The premisses are bounded on the East with Rabuck, on the South with Dondrom, on the West with Rathfarnham, and on the North with Milltown.

John Kemp of the city of Dublin, Taylor. English Protestant.	Church-town, *alias*, Tannee, by estimate one plow-land.	Fourscore and eight acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 8 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Pasture - 20 0 0		By the jury fifty pounds. By us the same.

To the proprietor. To the royalties and tythes. To the bounds.	**OBSERVATIONS.** The proprietor holds the said lands by virtue of a lease from the bishop of Dublin. The tythes belong to the College of Dublin. The bounds are, to the West Stillorgan, on the South with Tipperstown, on the West with Dondrom, and on the North with Rabuck.

The parish of TANNEE continued.

Proprietor's name, and his qualification.	Denomination of land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Lands profitable, and its quantity.	Lands unprofitable and waste, &c.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
Dean Margetson. A Protestant.	Tipperstown, by estimate one plowland.	Threescore and sixteen acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 6 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Pasture - 10 0 0		By the jury twenty pounds. By us forty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor held the premisses in right of his deanry, the tythes did belong to itself.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Stillorgan, on the South Molhanstown, on the West with Ballawly, and on the North with Butterstown.

The whole number of acres contained in the aforesaid parish is as followeth.		A. R. P. Meadow - - - 87 0 0 Arable - - - 1058 0 0 Mount. Pasture - - - 362 0 0 Total 1507 0 0	One thousand five hundred and seven acres.

The parish of KILL, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish is bounded on the East with the parish of Monkstown, on the South with the parish of Tully, on the West with Dondrom in the parish of Tannee, and on the North with the parish of Donnebrook.

Proprietor's name and qualification.	Denomination of land.	Numbers of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste, &c.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
William Wolferston of Stillorgan. Irish Papist.	Stillorgan, by estimate two plow-lands.	One hundred threescore and sixteen acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 16 0 0 Arable - 120 0 0 Pasture - 30 0 0		By the jury seventy pounds. By us ninety pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor was indicted for his adherence to the Irish, and possessed the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.

To the buildings, &c. There is on the premisses one castle, one stable and barn slated, one mill, worth in 1640 ten pounds, one orchard and a garden-plot, with a small number of ash-trees, an old chapel; the buildings are valued by the jury at fifty pounds.

To the royalties, tythes, &c. The tythes belong to Christ-church.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East by Newtown of Stron, on the South with Little Newtown, on the West with Killmacud, and on the North with Butterstown.

The parish of KILL continued.

Proprietors names and qualifications.	Denominations of Lands.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste.	Value of the whole and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
William Wolferston aforesaid. Irish Papist.	Little Newtown, by estimate one plowland.	Fourscore and fifteen acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 5 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Pasture - 30 0 0		By the jury fifty pounds. By us the same.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor possessed the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the buildings. There is upon the premisses one slated stone house, valued by the jury at fifteen pounds.
To the royalties, tythes, &c. The tythes belong to Christ-church.
To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with the Kill, on the South with Dean's Grange, on the West with Stillorgan, and on the North with Newtown of the Stron.

Walter Cheevers of Monkstown. Irish Papist.	Cornett's Court, two plow-lands.	Two hundred and fifty acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 10 0 0 Arable - 120 0 0 Pasture - 20 0 0		By the jury sixty-seven pounds. By us eighty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor possessed the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the buildings. There is on the premisses one castle thatched, and a garden-plot, valued by the jury at fifteen pounds.
To the royalties, tythes, &c. The tythes belong to Christ-church.
To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Rourkstown, on the South with Breynanstown, on the West with Leeperstown, and on the North with Deansgrange.

John Kennedy of the city of Dublin. Irish Papist.	Rourkestown, two plow-lands.	Two hundred and thirty acres.	A. R. P. Meadow 10 0 0 Arable 120 0 0 Pasture - 100 0 0		By the jury forty-three pounds. By us one hundred pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor possessed the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the woods, &c. There is on the premisses a small grove of underwood.
To the royalties and tythes. The tythes belong to Christ-church.
To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with Loughlanstown, on the West with Deansgrange, and on the North with Monkstown.

James Margetson, dean of Christ-church. Protestant.	Deansgrange, by estimate, and Kiltikerry, part of the same, four plow-lands.	Four hundred and twelve acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 12 0 0 Arable - 200 0 0 Pasture - 100 0 0		By the jury one hundred pounds. By us two hundred pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor held the premisses by grant from the then lord deputy and council.
To the buildings, &c. There is on the premisses one castle slated, a small orchard, and a garden-plot. The jury valued the said buildings at fifty pounds.
To the woods, &c. There is on the premisses a small shrubby wood.
To the royalties and tythes. The tythes did belong to the said dean.
To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Monkstown, on the South with Cornett's Court, on the West Stillorgan, and on the North with Newtown of the Stron.

The parish of KILL continued.

Proprietor's name, and his qualification.	Denominations of Land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable, and waste, &c.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
James Margetson, dean of Christ-church. Protestant.	Molhanstown and Tinekilly, three plowlands.	One hundred fourscore and twelve acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 12 0 0 Arable - 120 0 0 Pasture - 52 0 0		By the jury sixty-two pounds. By us ninety pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor enjoyed the premisses in right of his deanry, anno 1641.
To the woods, &c. There is on the premisses a small grove of Underwood.
To the royalties, tythes, &c. The tythes did belong to Christ-church.
To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Leeperstown, on the South with Killgobbin, on the West with Ballawly, and on the North with Kilmacud.

James Margetson, dean of Christ-church. Protestant.	Kill of the Grange, two plow-lands.	One hundred and forty-three acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 3 0 0 Arable - 120 0 0 Pasture - 20 0 0	By the jury thirty pounds. [By us sixty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor held the premisses in right of his deanery, anno 1641.

To the royalties, tythes, &c. The tythes did belong to the said dean.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Monkstown, on the South with Rourkstown, West Little Newtown, North Newtown of the Stron.

	The whole number of acres in the aforesaid parish is as followeth:	A. R. P. Meadow - - - - 68 0 0 Arable - - - - - 860 0 0 Pasture - - - - - 452 0 0 In all 1380 0 0	One thousand three hundred and eighty acres.

The parish of MONKSTOWN, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish is bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with the parish of Killeny, on the West with the parish of Kill, and on the North with the parish of Donnebrook.

Proprietor's name and qualification.	Denomination of land.	Numbers of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste, &c.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
Walter Cheevers of Monkstown. Irish Papist.	Monkstown, by estimate four plowlands.	Four hundred and thirty-four acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 14 0 0 Arable - 300 0 0 Pasture - 120 0 0		By the jury two hundred pounds. By us the same.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor stands indicted for adhering to the rebels, and possessed the said Lands as his inheritance, anno 1641.

To the buildings, &c. There is on the premisses one old castle, newly repaired, with a barn, two garden-plots, an orchard, one mill in use, worth 1640 seven pounds; there is a small creek for a haven. The jury value the buildings at three hundred pounds, being repaired by lieutenant general Ludlow: there is also a parish-church in repair.

To the woods, Mines, &c. There is on the premisses a small shrubby wood, with a few ash trees.

To the royalties, tythes, &c. The premisses are a manor, and kept court-leet and court-baron; the tythes did belong to the proprietor.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Bullock, on the South with Rourkston, on the West with Stillorgan, on the North with the sea.

Christopher Fagan of Feltrim. Irish Papist.	Bullock, by estimate one plow-land.	Fourscore and ten acres.	R. A. P. Meadow 7 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Rocky Pasture 23 0 0		By the jury thirty pounds. By us forty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1640.
To the buildings.	There is on the premisses one castle-slated, a sea-port, and a bawn, also a good haven. The buildings valued by the jury at one hundred pounds.
To the royalties, tythes, &c.	The chief-fish, tythe-fish, custom-fish, and corn tythes, did belong to the proprietor.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded North and East by the sea, on the South with Dalkey, on the West with Monkstown.

Walter Cheevers of Monkstown. Irish Papist.	Newtown of the Stron, by estimate two plow-lands.	Two hundred and twenty acres.	A. R. P. Meadow 1 0 0 Arable - 120 0 0 Pasture - 100 0 0	....	By the jury eighty pounds. By us the same.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the buildings.	There is on the premisses a castle slated, valued by the jury at twenty pounds.
To the royalties, tythes. &c.	The tythes belong to judge Duggan.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East and North with the sea, on the South with Deanisgrange, on the West with Butterstown.

The parish of MONKSTOWN continued.

Proprietor's name, and his qualification.	Denomination of land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste, &c.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
Rowland Goodman of Ballinth. Irish Papist.	Ballinth, by estimate half a plow-land.	Thirty acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 0 0 0 Arable - 30 0 0 Pasture - 0 0 0		By the jury seven pounds. By us twelve pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor was possessed of the premisses in right of a mortgage from James Goodman, who was put to death for rebellion.

To the tythes. The tythes belong to Christ-church.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with Rourkstown, on the West with Monkstown, and on the North with Bullock.

The whole number of acres contained in the said parish of Monkstown is as followeth.		A.	R.	P.	Seven hundred and seventy-seven acres.
	Meadow - - -	24	0	0	
	Arable - -- -	510	0	0	
	Pasture - - - -	243	0	0	
	In all	777	0	0	

The parish of KILLENY, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish is bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with the parish of Rathmichael, on the West with the parish of Tully, and on the North with the parish of Monkstown.

Proprietor's name, and qualification.	Denominations of Land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable, and waste, &c.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
			A. R. P.		
James Goodman of Loughnanstown. Irish Papist.	Loughnanstown, by estimate four plowlands.	Three hundred and thirty acres.	Meadow - 10 0 0 Arable 120 0 0 Pasture - 120 0 0		By the jury one hundred pounds. By us one hundred and fifty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor acted in the Irish army as provost-marshall, and was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance. anno 1641.
To the buildings, &c.	There is on the premisses a strong barn, one mill in use, worth in the year 1640 ten pounds, an orchard and a garden; the building valued by the jury at twenty pounds.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with Shanganagh, on the West with Breynanstown, and on the North with Rourkstown.

The parish of KILLENY continued.

William Woulferston of Stillorgan. Irish Papist.	Hackets-land, by estimate half a plow-land.	Thirty-seven acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 10 0 0 Arable - 27 0 0 Pasture - 0 0 0		By the jury seven pounds ten shillings. By us fifteen pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with Shanganagh, on the West with Loughnanstown, and on the North with Killeny.

James Margetson, dean of Christ-church. English Protestant.	Killeny, by estimate one plow-land	Threscore acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 0 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Pasture - 0 0 0		By the jury fifteen pounds. By us twenty-five pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor held the premisses in right of his deanery, and set a lease thereof to James Goodman of Laughnanstown, who was put to death some two years since for murther done in the rebellion.

To the buildings, &c. There are on the premisses the walls of the parish-church.

To the royalties and tythes. The tythes did belong to Christ-Church.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with Laughnanstown, on the West with Breynanstown, and on the North with Rourkstown.

	The whole Number of acres contained in the said parish of Killeny, is as followeth.	A. R. P. Meadow - - - 20 0 0 Arable - - - - 207 0 0 Pasture - - - - 120 0 0 In all 347 0 0		Three hundred and forty-seven acres.

The parish of TULLY, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish is bounded on the East with the parish of Killeny, on the South with the parish of Rathmichael, on the West with the parish of Killgobbin, and on the North with the parish of Kill.

Proprietors names and qualifications.	Denominations of Lands.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste.	Value of the whole and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
			A. R. P.		
Theobald Walsh of Carrickmaine. Irish Papist.	Carrickmaine, by estimate four plow-lands.	Four hundred and sixty-six acres.	Meadow - 32 0 0 Arable } 234 0 0 Rocky } Pasture } 200 0 0		By the jury one hundred pounds. By us two hundred pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor acted in the Irish army as captain of a foot company, and was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance anno 1641.
To the buildings, &c.	There is on the premisses the wall of a castle, an orchard and garden-plot, a bawne; the buildings are valued by the jury at ten pounds.
To the royalties and tythes.	The premisses were a manor, and keep court-leet. The tythes belong to Christ-church.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with Breynanstown, on the South with Killternan, on the West with Killgobbin, and on the North with Cornett's-court.

The parish of TULLY continued.

Proprietor's name and qualifications.	Denomination of land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
Theobald Walsh of Carrickmaine. Irish Rebel.	Glanmuck, by estimate one plow-land.	One hundred acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 6 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Pasture Rocky } 34 0 0		By the jury twenty-pounds. By us thirty-six pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor acted in the Irish army as is before expressed, and was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, and did mortgage the premisses five or six years before the rebellion for the maintenance of his sisters.
To the woods, &c.	There is on the premisses a small shrubby wood.
To the tythes, &c.	The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East and South with Ballycarouse, on the West with Kilternan, and on the North with Jamestown.

William Woulferston of Stillorgan. Irish Papist.	Leeperstown, by estimate one plowland.	One hundred acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 10 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Pasture - 30 0 0		By the jury thirty pounds. By us fifty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, and passed the same to his daughter-in-law, Mary Kavemate, *alias* Woulferston, as her jointure.
To the buildings, &c.	There is on the premisses a thatched house, valued by the jury at ten pounds.
To the tythes.	The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with Deansgrange, on the South with Killgobben, on the West with Molhanstown, and on the North with Killmacud.

	The whole number of acres in the aforesaid parish of Tully, is as follows:		A. R. P. Meadow - - - - 48 0 0 Arable - - - - 354 0 0 Pasture - - - - 264 0 0 In all 666 0 0	Six hundred and sixty-six acres.

The parish of WHITCHURCH, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish is bounded on the East and North with the parish of Tannee, on the South with Tynnekilly, in the barony of Newcastle, and on the West with Rathfarnham.

Proprietor's name, and qualification.	Denominations of Land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Lands profitable, and its quantity.	Lands unprofitable, and waste, &c.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham. English Protestant.	Harold's Grange, by estimate five plowlands.	Six hundred acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 40 0 0 Arable - 400 0 0 Pasture & Rocky Mount } 160 0 0		By the jury one hundred and twenty pounds. By us two hundred and forty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor held the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the buildings. There is upon the premisses one castle thatched, and a garden-plot; the building valued by the jury at twenty pounds.
To the tythes. The tythes belong to the proprietor.
To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East with Dondrum, on the South with Newtown, West and North with Rathfarnham.

John Harold of Rilmakoge, Irish Papist, who had a fee-farm from the dean of Christ-church.	Killmackoge, by estimate four plow-lands.	Four hundred acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 20 0 0 Arable - 200 0 0 Mount Pasture } 180 0 0	-	By the jury one hundred pounds. By us one hundred and fifty pounds.

To the proprietor. To the buildings. To the tythes. To the bounds.	OBSERVATIONS. The proprietor acted in the Irish army as cornet of a troop of horse. There is on the premisses one old castle out of repair, and a garden-plot, with a small orchard, The tythes belong to Christ-church. The premisses are bounded on the East with Harrold's Grange, on the South with Newtown, on the West with Edmundstown, on the North with Rathfarnham.		
	The whole number of acres contained in the said parish of Whitchurch is as followeth.	A. R. P. Meadow - - - - 60 0 0 Arable - - - - 600 0 0 Pasture - - - - 362 0 0 In all 1020 0 0	One thousand and twenty acres.

The parish of KILTERNAN, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish is bounded on the East with the parish of Rathmichael, on the South with Powerscourt in the county of Wicklow, on the West with Killgobben, and on the North with the parish of Tully.

Proprietor's name and qualification.	Denomination of land.	Numbers of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste, &c.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
Lord of Merrion. Irish Papist.	Kilternan and Killibetagh, by estmate four plowlands.	Five hundred acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 10 0 0 Arable - 200 0 0 Pasture 200 0 0 Rocky Pasture 9 0 0		By the jury eighty pounds. By us one hundred and sixty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, and did mortgage the same to Sir Robert Dixon, deceased, anno 1659.
To the buildings.	There is on the premisses one castle, and the walls of a parish-church.
To the woods, &c.	There is on the premisses one grove of bushy wood.
To the tythes.	The tythes did belong to the proprietor.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with Ballycorouse, on the South with Glancullen, on the West with Jamestown, and on the North with Glannemuck.

Lord of Merrion. Irish Papist.	Glanculien, by estimate two plow-lands.	Three hundred acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 0 0 0 Arable - 20 0 0 Rocky Pasture } 100 0 0		By the jury thirty pounds. By us one hundred pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.

The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, and did mortgage the same to Robert Plunket of Rathmore, three or four years before the wars. The said Robert Plunket was indicted for adhering to the rebels.

To the woods, &c.

There are on the premisses two groves of Underwood.

To the bounds.

The premisses are bounded on the East with Kilternan, on the South with Glankree, on the West with Killgobbin, and on the North with Glannemuck.

	The whole Number of acres contained in the said parish of Kilternan is as followeth.	A. R. P. Meadow - - - 10 0 0 Arable - - - - - 400 0 0 Pasture - - - - - 490 0 0 In all 900 0 0		Nine hundred acres.

The parish of KILLGOBBIN, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish of Killgobbin is bounded on the East with the parish of Tully, on the South with the parish of Kilternan, on the West with the parish of Tannee, and on the North with the parish of Kill.

Proprietors names and qualifications.	Denominations of Lands.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste.	Value of the whole and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
			A. R. P.		
Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham. Knt. English Protestant.	Jamestown and Killgobbin, by estimate four plow-lands.	Seven hundred acres.	Meadow - 20 0 0 Arable 200 0 0 Rocky Pasture } 480 0 0		By the jury two hundred and forty pounds. By us two hundred and eighty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, and mortgaged the same to Sir Maurice Eustace, Knt.
To the buildings, &c.	There are on the premisses one castle thatched, and a garden-plot, and the walls of a parish church; the said buildings are valued at twenty pounds by the jury.
To the woods, &c.	There are on the premisses eight acres of shrubby wood.
To the royalties, tythes, &c.	The tythes did belong to the College of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with Carrickmaine, on the South with Glannemuck, on the West with Ballawly, and on the North with Molhanstown,

	The whole number of acres contained in the said parish of Killgobbin, is as followeth.	A. R. P. Meadow - 20 0 0 Arable - 200 0 0 Pasture - 480 0 0 In all 700 0 0	Seven hundred acres.

The parish of RATHMICHAEL, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish of Rathmichael is bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with the parish of Connogh, on the West with the parish of Kilternan, and on the North with the parish of Killeeny.

Proprietor's name and qualifications.	Denomination of land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
John Walsh of Shangannagh. Irish Rebel.	Shangannagh, by estimate four plow-lands.	Four hundred acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 10 0 0 Arable 38 0 0 Pasture - 16 0 0		By the jury one hundred and thirty-one pounds. By us two hundred pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor died half a year before the rebellion, and was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance.

To the buildings. &c. There is on the premisses one castle and large hall thatched, valued by the jury at thirty pounds. There is one mill, two orchards and a garden-plot, a small grove of ash-trees, set for ornament.

To the tythes, &c. The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East by the sea, on the South with Corke, on the West with Shankill, and on the North with Loughnanstown.

The parish of RATHMICHAEL continued.

William Woulferstown of Stillorgan. Irish Papist.	Ballycorouse, by estimate one plow-land.	One hundred and fourscore acres.	A. R. P. Meadow 10 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Pasture - 90 0 0		By the jury thirty pounds. By us sixty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was indicted for adhering to the rebels. He was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the woods, &c.	There is on the premisses a grove of underwood.
To the tythes, &c.	The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with Shankill, on the South with Prompstown, West with Killterman, and North with Glanmemuck.

James Margetson dean of Christ-church. Protestant.	Loughnanstown, by estimate two plow-lands.	One hundred and twenty-eight acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 4 0 0 Arable - 120 0 0 Pasture - 4 0 0		By the jury thirty pounds. By us sixty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor held the same in right of his deanery, anno 1641.
To the buildings.	There is on the premisses one castle thatched, valued at twenty pounds by the jury.
Mo the woods, &c.	There is a small grove of shrubby wood.
To the tythes. &c.	The tythes belong to the said dean.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with Laughnanstown, on the South with Shankill, on the West with Carrickmeyne, and on the North with Breynanstown.

James Margetſon, dean of Chriſt-church. Proteſtant.	Breynanſtown, by eſtimate one plow-land.	One hundred and four acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 4 0 0 Arable - 60 0 0 Paſture } 40 0 0 Furze }		By the jury thirty pounds. By us forty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor held the ſame in right of his deanery, anno 1641.
To the buildings.	There is on the premiſſes one caſtle thatched, a garden-plot, one tuck-mill, one corn-mill, the ſaid mill and buildings valued by the jury at twenty pounds.
To the tythes, &c..	The tythes belong to Chriſt-church. Mr. Fagan of Feltrum pretends a leaſe, and receives the profits thereof.
To the bounds.	The premiſſes are bounded on the Eaſt and South with Laughnanſtown, on the Weſt with Kilbegott, and on the North with Carrickmain.

The whole number of acres contained in the ſaid pariſh of Rathmichael is as followeth.

	A.	R.	P.
Meadow . - - - -	28	0	0
Arable - - - - - -	620	0	0
Paſture - - - - -	144	0	0
In all	792	0	0

The parish of CONNAGH, with its bounds, &c.

The said parish of Connagh is bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with the river of Bray, on the West with the parish of Rathmichael, and on the North with the parish of Killeeny.

Proprietor's name and qualifications.	Denomination of land.	Number of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
James Walsh of Connagh, Irish Rebel.	Little Bray, by estimate, belonging to the said Walsh, half a plowland.	Twenty-three acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 03 0 0 Arable - 20 0 0 Pasture - 00 0 0		By the jury ten pounds. By us the same.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor. The proprietor died in the beginning of the rebellion, and was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance.

To the tythes, &c. The tythes belong to Walter Plunkett of Fishamble-street, Dublin. There is on the premisses one warren stocked.

To the bounds. The premisses are bounded on the East by the sea, on the South with the river Brey, on the North with Corke, and on the West with Conagh.

William Woulferston of Stillorgan. Irish Papist.	A moiety of the Brey, by estimate half a plow-land.	Twenty acres.	A. R. P. Meadow 00 0 0 Arable - 20 0 0 Pasture - 00 0 0		By the jury ten pounds. By us the same.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor possessed the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the buildings.	There is on the premisses one castle wall, the old castle valued by the jury at five pounds.
To the tythes.	The tythes belong to Walter Plunkett of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded with the other moiety of the Little Brey beforementioned.

Lord of Merrion. Irish Papist.	A moiety of Little Brey, by estimate the eighth part of a plow-land.	Seven acres and a half.	A. R. P. Meadow - 00 0 0 Arable - 07½ 0 0 Pasture - 00 0 0		By the jury three pounds, fifteen shillings. By us the same.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the tythes.	The tythes belong to Walter Plunkett of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded with the rest of Little Brey aforesaid.

The parish of CONNAGH continued.

Proprietor's name and qualification.	Denomination of land.	Numbers of acres by estimate of the country.	Land profitable, and its quantity.	Land unprofitable and waste, &c.	Value of the whole, and each of the said lands, as it was in 1640.
James Walsh of Connagh Irish Papist.	Connagh and Corke, by estimate six plow-lands.	Five hundred acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 20 0 0 Arable - 400 0 0 Pasture 80 0 0		By the jury one hundred and thirty-nine pounds fourteen shillings. By us two hundred pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the buildings.	There is on the premisses one castle thatched, an orchard and garden-plot. The buildings are valued by the jury at twenty pounds.
To the woods.	There is on the premisses one grove of ash-trees, and the walls of a parish-church.
To the tythes.	The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with the sea, on the South with the river of Bray, on the West with Ballyman, and on the North with Shanganagh.

Theobald Walsh of Carrickmeyne. Irish Papist.	Promptstown, by estimate half a plow-land.	Thirty-six acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 6 0 0 Arable - 30 0 0		By the jury twelve pounds. By us eighteen pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor acted in the Irish army as captain of a foot company, and was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the tythes.	The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with Ballyman, on the South with the Monastery, West with Kilternan, and on the North with Ballycorouse.

Henry Rochford of Kilbegoge. Irish Papist.	Kilbegoge, by estimate three quarters of a plow-land	Fifty-five acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 10 0 0 Arable - 40 0 0 Pasture - 5 0 0		By the jury ten pounds. By us twenty-five pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, who died the first year of the rebellion, and left the premisses in mortgage with his brother Henry Rochfort, who was indicted for rebelling.
To the tythes.	The tythes belong to Christ-church.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded by Killeny on the East, on the South with Breynanstown, on the West with Cornet's-court, and on the North with Kill of the Grange,

William Earl of Meath. English Protestant.	Little Bray, the fourth part of a plowland.	Twelve acres and a half.	A. R. P. Meadow - 0 0 0 Arable - 12½ 0 0 Pasture - 00 0 0		By the jury thirty-pounds. By us fifty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the tythes.	The tythes belong to Walter Plunkett of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded with the rest of Little Bray aforesaid.

The parish of CONNAGH continued.

Edward Wingfield of Powerscourt. English Protestant.	Ballyman, by estimate two plow-lands.	One hundred and twenty acres.	A. R. P. Meadow - 10 0 0 Arable - 100 0 0 Pasture - 10 0 0		By the jury thirty-six pounds. By us fifty pounds.

OBSERVATIONS.

To the proprietor.	The proprietor was possessed of the premisses as his inheritance, anno 1641.
To the buildings.	There is on the premisses one castle thatched, and a garden-plot; the buildings valued by the jury at twenty pounds.
To the tythes, &c	The tythes belong to the College of Dublin.
To the bounds.	The premisses are bounded on the East with Connegh, on the South with Fasaroe, on the West with Prompstown, and on the North with Shankill.

	The whole number of acres contained in the said parish of Connagh, is as followeth.		A. R. P. Meadow - - - 49 0 0 Arable - - - 630 0 0 Pasture - - - - 95 0 0 In all 774 0 0	Seven hundred and seventy-four acres.

An abſtract of the number of acres in the reſpective pariſhes aforeſaid, belonging to Iriſh papiſt proprietors.

Pariſhes Names.	Meadow.	Arable.	Paſture and Mount.	Unprofitable Land.	Total
Donnebrook	40	140	10		190
Tannee	63	888	332		1283
Kill	41	420	180		641
Monkſtown	24	510	243		777
Killeny	20	147	120		287
Tully	48	354	264		666
Whitchurch					
Kilternan	10	400	490		900
Kilgobbin					
Rathmichael	20	440	100		560
Connagh	39	517½	85		614½
Total	307	3816½	1824		5945½

An abſtract of the number of acres in the reſpective pariſhes aforeſaid, belonging to Engliſh proteſtant proprietors.

Pariſhes Names.	Meadow.	Arable	Paſture.	Unprofitable.	Total.
Donnebrook	5	200	35		240
Tannee	10	50			60
Kill					
Monkſtown					
Killeny					
Tully					
Whitchurch	40	400	180		620
Kilternan					
Kilgobben	20	200	480		700
Rathmichael					
Connagh	10	122½	10		132½
Total	85	962½	705		1752½

An abſtract of [illegible] ber of acres of the church-land[illegible] parihes aforeſaid.

taken fro[illegible]

Pariſhes Names.	Mead[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]ſitable.	Total.
Donnebrook					
Tannee	14				164
Kill	27				739
Monkſtown					
Killeny		6			60
Tully					
Whitchurch	20	200	[illegible]		400
Kilternan					
Kilgobbin					
Rathmichael	8	180	44		232
Connagh					
Total	69	1000	526		1595

THE END